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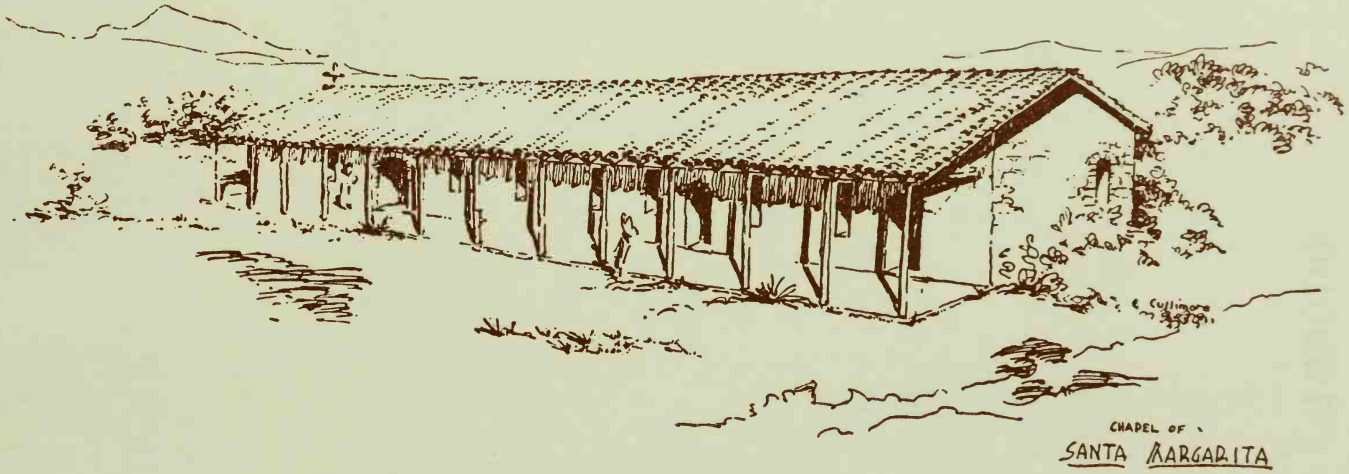
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(see pp. 15-16).

Rancho Santa Margarita of San Luis Obispo

By William R. Cameron

Among the missionaries, scientists, and military men of Gaspar de Portolá's expedition, which left San Diego July 14, 1769, bound overland for the port of Monterey, were four diarists whose ability in recording what they saw and thought supplies, in part, the background of the account given here.

One of these diarists, Friar Juan Crespí, not only took the latitude of various points along the way, but he found time, for instance, to count the number of "Castilian" roses on one branch—"six roses open and twelve about to open."[1] Fortunately also for the present paper, the early gifted observers were succeeded by others, so that by the 1860's the picture is in most respects clear; but modern readers are sometimes puzzled by the names the diarists gave to geographic points and to the different species of animals and plants they saw.

As Crespí and his companions journeyed north, they came across native Indian villages or rancherías with names difficult to transliterate, and so they had recourse to Christian saints. Santa Margarita,* devotion to whose memory dates back to the fourth century (*d.*, A. D. 306) was thus honored on July 20, 1769, her special day in the calendar of saints,[2] when a valley was named for her;[3] a month later (Aug. 20, 1769), the name of another Margaret, the thirteenth-century Santa Margarita de Cortona—particularly dear to the Franciscans to whose representatives

*The third-century Saint Margaret, mentioned above, was one of the four virgin patron saints of Christendom (together with saints Catherine, Barbara, and Ursula). She is characteristically pictured as trampling on a dragon. In the absence of definite information on the naming of Rancho Santa Margarita, the saint's triumphant conquest of the dragon may have suggested to the Spaniards, remembering their own success in subduing the equally ferocious-looking grizzly, that her patronage had been active in their behalf.

in Cortona, Italy, she had appealed in penance for her past misdeeds[4]—was given to a group of villages along the shore, some three leagues from where Santa Barbara now stands.[5] The next day, another shore site was named "San Luis Obispo." Not until September seventh, however, did Portolá's party reach the "Cañada de los Osos," or the valley of bears, which Crespí called "Natividad de Nuestra Señora."[6] Here, three years later, Mission San Luis Obispo de Tolosa was founded,[7] which subsequently expanded, in spite of the difficult terrain, into the area that became known as "Rancho Santa Margarita."

How difficult the terrain actually was, the diarists were at pains to describe. The Cañada de los Osos was not only the habitat of "troops of bears," which kept the ground full of holes in their search for roots and which, when hunted, exhibited their "ferocity";[8] but across the expedition's path loomed a formidable bulk, landmark for ships coming from China, which Viscaíno, over a century and a half earlier (Dec. 1602), had named the "Sierra de Santa Lucia."[9] According to Crespí on September 17, 1769, ". . . we set out in the morning, and the first thing was to begin to go over the crest, with a prayer in our mouths, for this day's journey called for nothing less."[10] A similar report was given in his diary by the expedition's engineer and cosmographer, Miguel Costansó:

> . . . our commander . . . rightly presuming that this would be the most difficult passage to surmount on the whole journey . . . resolved . . . to send out the most intelligent scouts to examine the country completely. . . . The scouts . . . told us that the range was somewhat more passable . . . to the east-northeast, although it was far from the course that was convenient for us to take.[11]

The range was finally ascended in a northwesterly direction—not in the direction of the Santa Margarita River, which is tributary to the upper reaches of the Salinas and which would have been useful to Portolá's expedition in opening up the route along the main stream. As a matter of fact, Monterey Bay itself was passed by, unwittingly, although it was the expedition's prescribed goal.[12] In the autumn of 1769, the fertile countryside bordering Santa Margarita River was nobody's goal.

Development of auxiliary ranchos depended on the growth made by each mission. In the case of San Luis Obispo, lack of soldiers and afterwards of provisions at Monterey—as well as at the already-established missions of San Carlos (June 3, 1770) and San Antonio de Padua (July 14, 1771)—had delayed its founding, originally. But the food situation was relieved after three months of hunting, May-August 1772, in the Cañada de los Osos by Capt. Pedro Fages. The success of the hunt had

likewise pleased the Indians in the neighborhood of the cañada, as the bears' ferocious temper had made impossible any amicable sharing of certain nutritious roots, attractive both to the bears and the Indians.[13] In the opinion of anthropologists, the meat of the bear was not on the natives' menu because, among other reasons, ". . . in all probability there was a lurking suspicion that a grizzly might not be a real one, but a transformed bear doctor."[14]

At last, on September 1, 1772, Father-President Junípero Serra raised the cross on the summit of a low hill, "half a league from the valley of Los Osos, and three leagues by a good road from the bay. . . ." Mass was said, and work was then commenced on the buildings for Mission San Luis Obispo de Tolosa. According to Acting-President Francisco Palou's report of December 1773: "At the site or place where the mission was founded there was no permanent village of heathen. But, attracted by the news, they came."[15] He pointed out that as wild seeds, deer, rabbits, and fish were abundant, it would be difficult to persuade the Indians to live at the mission (or to "reduce" them). This opinion was concurred in by Fages, who had been appointed military commander of California in July 1770 and who was at the mission in November 1773 to interview Palou: ". . . there remains," Fages stated, "only the hope of interesting and attracting them by gifts of clothing—which they lack without confusion or shame." Areas well-adapted to cultivation were nearby and there was plenty of water. Fages then enlarged upon Mission San Luis Obispo's possibilities: ". . . no matter how large the mission grows to be and however great the number of Indians reduced, the land promises sustenance, without prejudice either to the mission or the Indians, and for many settlers as well, who may desire to establish themselves here. . . ." His enthusiasm led him to predict that San Luis Obispo in the upper portion of the province, and San Gabriel Arcangel, founded in September 1771, in the lower part, ". . . may soon succor and provide for the rest . . . rendering unnecessary the exportation of grains from the port of San Blas."[16] Serra's annual report for the year 1774—namely, that San Luis Obispo led the other missions in the production of wheat—gave credence to Fages' optimism.[17]

During the years that immediately followed Fages' visit in 1773, the present writer has found no reference to Santa Margarita Rancho's role in this expansive program; no mention, even, of the name nor what led to its adoption for this particular valley.[18] But that it was already in use

is indicated by the entry Pedro Font, chaplain for Juan Bautista de Anza's company of colonists, made in his diary on March 4, 1776: "We set out from the mission of San Luis Obispo at nine in the morning, and, at a quarter to five in the afternoon, halted at a place called La Asunción, on the banks of the Río de Monterey (which the Río de Santa Margarita has already joined), having traveled some ten leagues: about one to the northeast: four to the north. . . ."[19]

Anza himself gives additional details. After leaving Mission San Luis Obispo, they journeyed to the northeast "for about a league and a half, in the course of which we climbed up a spur of the Sierra de Santa Lucía. Then, having traveled an equal distance or a little more to the north, we passed the site and river of Santa Margarita. This we followed downstream toward the northwest and west-northwest, in which direction it runs, until we came to the site of La Assumpción [Asunción], where we halted. . . ."[20] the route being essentially, as the translator says, along the line of the automobile highway over La Cuesta grade. Still, no idea is given of what the "site of Santa Margarita" affords in the way of cultivation for crops or as a grazing area.

The Franciscan establishment at San Luis Obispo suffered in November 1776 from fire caused by burning arrows discharged by the Indians at the tule (grass) roofs; the church and granary were among the structures that were saved.[21] Six years later (November 1782), "a large part" of the mission buildings and some 600 bushels of maize were destroyed,[22] the maize having been harvested, it would seem, from the mission's nearby fields.

Records relating specifically and consecutively to Santa Margarita Rancho appear to be lacking, but its history can be pieced together by referring to the fuller records of the parent mission and to provincial events that, directly and indirectly, affected its existence. For instance, from the reports on the occurrence of fire, just quoted, clues can be had as to (1), the character of the Indians in the general vicinity; (2), the types of structures in which the activities of the mission and its branches or ranchos were housed; and (3), the economic enterprises—agriculture, stock-raising, manufacturing, etc.—carried on on mission property, including the ranchos.

According to Pedro Fages, the Indians of the region knew how to make fire by rubbing one stick forcibly against another and how to communicate the spark to inflammable materials.[23] Early Franciscan travelers mention the dry grass that the "heathen" in the area had

burned off "for the purpose of hunting hares and rabbits which live there in abundance."[24] To set fire to the mission's exposed, tule-topped roofs was tempting and easy. In the 1776 fire, the motive was said to have been the desire on the part of the incendiaries to avenge themselves on a hostile tribe, friends of the Spaniards.[25] As Palou said, there was no permanent Indian village near Mission San Luis Obispo, and the padres had no way, at that date, of instructing the wandering tribes (described as "living at almost incessant war" one with another, though friendly to the Spaniards) and thus restraining them from committing such acts;[26] from this it would seem that the urge to vandalism—hitting and running—had attached itself to nomadism in California, even before the advent of four-wheel brakes.

But the civilizing arm of the mission was on its way outward toward the wandering tribes. In 1790, Fages pointed out the want of water at San Luis Obispo and had called the shortage the mission's chief drawback.[27] This was serious because, during Fages' term as governor, 1783-90, the number of neophytes at San Luis Obispo had grown from 492 to 605, large stock belonging to the mission had increased from 815 head to 3810, and small stock from 960 to 3725.[28] Rainfall figures as between San Luis Obispo (elevation, 238 ft.) and Santa Margarita (elevation, 995 ft.) indicate an annual rainfall at San Luis of 22.32 inches, compared with 28.41 inches at Santa Margarita,[29] and the friars would not have been slow in recognizing the advantage to their grain crops and also to their herds from the rancho's better-watered fields with their luxuriant growth of alfilerilla and burr clover.[30] We know that Santa Margarita was being used by the mission in 1790, because in that year a pensioned corporal, married to a neophyte of San Luis Obispo, requested a grant of land at Santa Margarita but his request was opposed by the friars on the grounds that the land was needed for the community.[31]

Five years later, this opposition to the granting of land to individuals was confirmed by the then-governor, Diego Borica, among his reasons being the uncertainty regarding the amount of land the mission fathers would need, as new converts were being made constantly.[32] Shortly afterwards (July 25, 1797), a new mission, San Miguel, some 30 miles north of Santa Margarita Rancho was founded, "in the presence," so ran the report, "of a great multitude of gentiles of both sexes,"[33] thereby increasing the traffic north and south along the route that led past San Luis and Santa Margarita to Monterey. Almost simultaneously, an active

and resourceful friar, Luis Antonio Martínez, began his thirty-year service (June 1798-Feb. 1830) at San Luis Obispo.

Preceding Father Martínez' arrival, a number of king's artisans—carpenters, smith, masons—had been sent during 1792-95 from Mexico to Alta California for the purpose of instructing the neophytes in their respective crafts. As a result, mission churches throughout the province, formerly rude structures with horizontal timbers supporting roofs made either of tules (bulrushes) or of mud, were replaced by those made of adobes with tile roofs.[34] In the case of San Luis Obispo, a portico was added across the front of the church, and in 1794 the minister's house, a workroom, barrack and guardhouse were completed, the improvements being so marked that William Shaler of the Ship *Lelia Byrd*, off the coast in 1803-04, wrote in his journal that San Luis Obispo's buildings "are said to be excellent, even the habitations of the Indians are of stone and plaster."[35] Rancho Santa Margarita does not appear to have participated in the building that was in progress at that time, but the erection of a chapel at "San Miguelito"—one of the mission's other ranchos—was approved somewhat later (1809) by Gov. José Joaquín Arrilaga.[36]

Not only was it the intention of the government that housing problems be handled by trained men, but their services were called in in the case of agriculture and manufacturing. For example, in 1804, the growing and preparation of hemp and flax were placed in the hands of Joaquín Sanchez, said to be an expert along those lines, and San Luis Obispo was one of the missions which participated in the distribution of the seed; progress in teaching the Indians of San Luis was, in fact, shown in the making of good blue cloth, as reported for the decade 1811-20.[37] Thus, through the exertions of the neophytes themselves, the importation of limosna (alms) from Mexico—red pepper, boxes of panocha, packages of woven materials, and "blue maguey cloth for little girls," etc.—as requested in 1773 by Father Serra to attract the natives of the vicinity,[38] was superseded by made-on-the-spot goods. But the making of cloth was soon to assume considerably greater importance, for reasons other than attracting possible converts.

The decade of 1811-20 saw in progress the Spanish-American wars of independence, creating a state of unrest that prevented the sending of supplies by sea from San Blas, Mexico, for the California establishments. Their non-arrival increased the burden already borne by the missions, for, in addition to attending to the needs of their own communities, the friars had to come to the aid of the military.[39] This they did by

trading with "foreign" or Spanish vessels—e.g., those coming from Lima—which brought the goods desired by the military personnel and received in payment tallow and other products of the missions.[40] In the absence of definite information on the subject, it seems reasonable to assume that use of the acreage at Santa Margarita took on greater significance because of this increased demand for mission products.

As part of the Spanish-American revolutionary movement, there occurred in November-December 1818 an invasion of the coast of California by Hippolyte de Bouchard, out of Buenos Aires via Hawaii. Monterey was ransacked by the invaders, who blustered and threatened but who were prevented from committing further serious damage except at the Ortegas' Refugio Rancho, to the rescue of which Father Martínez, rising from a sick-bed, is said to have marched with 35 neophytes from his mission of San Luis Obispo.[41] He had already, at the first news of hostile ships, prepared his mission for defense and had, possibly at this date, selected Santa Margarita as a safe asylum for his charges, because of the rugged nature of the terrain between it and the coast.

When word of Bouchard's actual threat to the California communities reached Mexico, ships, loaded with troops (undisciplined "cholos") and munitions, were dispatched northward to ward off further attacks. Their arrival between July and September 1819, placed new responsibilities on the padres to increase their output, among the stated necessities being cloth and hemp.[42] How Santa Margarita figured in the work of supplying food is indicated in a description of the parent mission's property as of 1822, viz., two ranchos: Santa Margarita, 4 leagues away on the Monterey road, where wheat was raised and which served, also, as an inland retreat in case of attack by sea; and another rancho, situated 3 leagues from the mission along the shore, which supplied corn and beans.[43]

The year 1822 marked the end of Spanish rule in Alta California, for on April 11th the oath of loyalty to Mexico was taken, followed 3 years later (March 26, 1825) by ratification, by California authorities, of the federal constitution of the Mexican republic. Thereupon began a period of political unrest which saw, between 1822 and 1847, 12 different men serve 15 separate terms as governor of the province.[44]

As to San Luis Obispo, agitation looking toward the secularization of the missions, ill-will toward them on the part of government officials, and the actual statistics for the decade 1821-30, given below, help to

explain the condition in which Alfred Robinson found San Luis in 1830 (the buildings "in a decayed state, and every thing about them appears to have been much neglected");[45] namely, the population had decreased from 504 to 283; large stock from 8971 to 3760; sheep from 6800 to 1022; largest crop from 5220 bushels in 1821 to 186 bushels in 1829, the only bright spots being horses and mules, which increased from 1050 to 1279—a sign that Fages' recommendation in his report of February 1791, that the breeding of these animals be encouraged, had been taken very much to heart by Father Martínez, during whose ministry the increase had occurred.[46] Though "slightly more prosperous" than San Luis Obispo, decline also characterized all departments of mission work at San Miguel (to the north of Santa Margarita), except the growing of grapes which had flourished in spite of the poor soil.[47]

By contrast with San Miguel's "poor soil," the different types present at Santa Margarita—dark loam along the streams; clayey loam, easily tilled, on the uplands, interspersed with some adobe tracts—all offered good returns when cultivated or, in the wild state, supplied thrifty, nutritious grasses for stock. Though the exact date of its construction has not been found by this writer, the building erected by the padres at Santa Margarita, to house their religious and secular work, shows that, aside from the rancho's value in the campaign to win and save the souls of the native population, its possibilities in agriculture, as a retreat in case of invasion from the sea, and as a resting-place for travelers along the Camino Real, were well-recognized by those in authority at the parent mission. According to Alfred Robinson, the building contained "store-rooms for different kinds of grain, and apartments for the accommodation of the majordomo, servants, and wayfarers. At one end was a chapel and snug lodging-rooms for the priest"—indicating construction problems of no mean sort. Robinson added that the priest frequently passed some weeks at Santa Margarita during harvest.[48]

In spite of outward signs of decline, and of decrease in population and in certain kinds of stock at San Luis Obispo, the work of the mission proceeded, with one padre succeeding another in regular fashion. When, because of political difficulties, it was deemed wise to bring to an end Father Martínez' long service, Luis Gil y Taboada took his place. The latter's death on December 15, 1833, at Santa Margarita, where he had gone during the short days of that month and over an extremely rugged road to say mass for the Indians engaged in planting,[49] illustrates the vigor of the padres' sense of responsibility toward their charges,

although, all around them, their own temporal status was hanging in the balance.

After the death of Gil y Taboada, Padre Ramón Abella served as minister at San Luis Obispo. In the fall of his first year (1834), he was called upon to play host to a division of the Híjar-Padres colony of settlers en route to Monterey and to Sonoma. This required some planning on the part of Padre Abella and the surmounting of some difficulties, owing to the sharp decline in his mission's resources. However, one of the colonists, Agustin Janssens, reported that at the missions of San Luis Obispo, San Miguel, and San Antonio, "we did very well." In contrast, was their experience at Mission Soledad, some 30 miles beyond San Antonio, where they found "the padre without food even for himself."[50]

Ramón Abella was also called upon to witness, beginning in 1835, the secularization of Mission San Luis Obispo by Manuel Jimeno Cesarin and his associates, and to see the neophytes decrease in number from 264 in 1834 to 170 in 1840; likewise a 50 per cent loss in livestock, except in horses which, though registering a gain in numbers, were stolen in 1840, all 1200 of them, by a gang of Indians, said to be from New Mexico, and in league with some American trappers. Another statistic for the year 1840, bearing directly on the subject of this paper, was the item in the inventory of Mission San Luis Obispo's possessions which listed Santa Margarita (of some 17,734 acres) as having a value of $4039.[51]

As early as 1786, the granting of ranchos was being authorized by Spain's representatives, with certain restrictions attached, such as not to exceed 3 leagues in extent, non-encroachment on the lands of the pueblos, missions, or Indian rancherías, and also requiring the building of a stone house and the keeping of at least 2000 head of livestock.[52] By 1800, from 20 to 30 men were raising cattle on ranchos, but permission to do so was only temporary and without legal title to the land itself.[53]

Up to 1820 the padres were still opposed (as they were in 1790, as said above) to grants, either to Spanish petitioners or to the neophytes, because, at the later date of 1820, the rancheros in both instances would be far removed from the spiritual ministrations of the church. Furthermore, though recognizing their function as trustees of the king of Spain in the matter of land—the Indians themselves being considered the rightful owners but also under the king—the padres found that for the

most part the neophytes lacked the capacity to cultivate the soil and to render the reports on their stewardship that were then required from each holder of land.[54] But by 1836, after the process of secularization of the missions was well under way, grants of land by the government became frequent, those in the Monterey district (which extended to and included Mission San Luis Obispo on the south) alone numbering, at the close of 1831-40, about 95.[55]

On April 7th of the next year (1841), Joaquín Estrada, being owner of considerable livestock and having no place in which to keep them, and the tract known as Santa Margarita being "actually vacant," petitioned the governor for a grant of the property. There was, he said, a house on the land, but it was "in ruins and ready to fall down"; he promised "not to make use of it nor to hinder said mission from using it as it may see fit. And the same with respect to the planting grounds which it may wish to cultivate for the Indians."[56]

On July 7th of the same year, Vicente Cané, administrator of the parent mission, corroborated Joaquín Estrada's statement, adding that Santa Margarita was formerly sowed but was not planted at the time of his testimony. He pointed out, however, that "the house, although injured may be useful to this establishment on account of the material of which it is composed."[57]

The result was that on September 27, 1841, Cesarin Jimeno—who had been commissioner for secularization of San Luis Obispo Mission in 1835 but in 1841 was acting-governor during Juan B. Alvarado's illness—granted to Estrada the tract known as Santa Margarita,[58] the transaction being one of about 22 private ranchos granted in the San Luis Obispo region during the half-decade 1841-45.[59] Estrada was said by the prefect of the district to possess the principal qualities necessary in a new country, viz., "honorable conduct and industry."[60] The grant contained no condition for building a house nor for occupation within a year. These stipulations were unnecessary, it was pointed out, because Estrada had had a house on the land during the preceding year and also stocks of cattle and horses.[61] Nicholas A. Den, an Irish physician of Santa Barbara, said that he slept in the house in 1842 and had been a frequent visitor there since.[62]

In September of 1842, the land at the parent mission was ordered distributed among the deserving neophytes—e.g., to one of them were given 75 varas of land (vara, about 33 inches) and the house he occupied.[63] Two years later (July 1844), the mission was formed into a

pueblo, complete emancipation of the Indians being ordered by Gov. Manuel Micheltorena with the proviso that some of their number were to assist the curate in his work; certain buildings were reserved for his use and others for the use of the public; likewise certain pieces of land were granted to the church.[64] On December 4, 1845, the ex-mission buildings, except those reserved as above, were sold to James Scott, John Wilson, and James McKinley for $510.00.[65]

Its former rancho of Santa Margarita was the scene of a meeting in July of the next year (1846) between Pío Pico coming from the south, and Gen. José Castro coming from San Antonio in the north, to discuss what should be done in order to resist the American conquest of the province, the United States flag having been raised at Monterey on July 7th of that year.[66] But, though the soil of Santa Margarita was fertile for crops, it was fruitless in the matter of political strategy; both governor and general retreated to Los Angeles, with what ultimate results the reader is familiar.

As to the parent mission itself, it was forced to be the scene of operations by the military of both sides as they moved back and forth during the course of the conflict. In his report of a march made by his battalion and himself from Los Angeles to the Sacramento Valley in September 1846, Col. John C. Frémont says that after leaving San Luis Obispo and pursuing their way through the Santa Lucias toward the headwaters of the Salinas (the region of Rancho Santa Margarita), the good range-grass and the acorns "made game abundant and deer and grisly bear were numerous. Twelve of the latter were killed by the party in one thicket"[67]—a re-enactment, on a smaller scale, of Fages' exploit of 1772. Between November 17 and December 16 of the same year (1846) and by order of Colonel Frémont, the rancho's owner Joaquín Estrada was arrested, along with two other Californios prominent in San Miguel-San Luis Obispo ex-mission affairs, namely, Inocente García and his son-in-law José Mariano Bonilla. They were shortly afterwards released and rendered assistance in keeping order during and after the change of flag.[68]

The appearance of the San Miguel-San Luis Obispo countryside in the winter of the conquest is described by Edwin Bryant—journalist of Kentucky, overland-party captain of 1846, and lieutenant in a company of Indian scouts attached to Frémont's battalion. Except for the churches, the two missions had "fallen into ruins."[69] There had been a drought for the past 2-3 years and the land was parched, but on Decem-

ber 14-15 rain fell in torrents. At San Luis Obispo, heaps of mud and crumbling walls near the church and in the vicinity of the still-standing "small squares of adobe houses," showed how much greater the community once had been.[70]

Bryant's entries in his diary for February 5-6, 1847, on his way back after obtaining his discharge from the battalion, mention even worse storms, soon after leaving San Luis Obispo. About 9 a. m. on the 6th they halted "at a rancho near the ruins of Santa Margarita. A solitary Indian was the only occupant of the place; and he could furnish us with no food. Passing two or three other deserted ranchos, we reached the house of a Mexican about one o'clock, where we obtained a meal of fried eggs and tortillas. . . ."[71]

In December of 1848, Santa Margarita figured in a tragic event involving the murder of over 10 persons at William Reed's rancho near ex-mission San Miguel. Reed had been giving shelter and food to some travelers, and during the course of their conversation had told them of his successful sale of sheep at the mines and of his cache of gold. Resuming, ostensibly, their journey, they went only as far as Santa Margarita, whence they returned after dark and committed their terrible deed. The murderers were overtaken and paid for their crime with their lives.[72]

To improve the desolate condition of the countryside in the vicinity of Santa Margarita experienced by Edwin Bryant, and to prevent the possibility of encountering marauders like those who murdered an entire family at San Miguel, illustrate some of the responsibilities, in this one area, that were thrust on Americans upon taking over the province of Alta California.

In the summer of 1849, J. Ross Browne, revenue and post-office agent of the United States, was obliged to go to San Luis Obispo on government business, and, as no steamer then touched at the San Luis embarcadero, he went muleback. He had been assured that in spite of roving bands of Sonorians and native Californians, the "trail through the Salinas and Santa Margarita valleys was considered the only reliable route. . . ."[73] It proved to be so for Browne, but not until he had tasted some of its drawbacks. In the first place, it was very lonesome: for 20 miles at a stretch there was not a house nor a human being to be seen. Then, while attempting to water his mule, he found himself close to a camp of a dozen or so savage-looking Sonorians.[74] He was not molested, and the next day he set out through the valley of Santa Margarita, which to him was extravagantly beautiful: a land of blue mountains and

"broad, rich pastures covered with innumerable herds of cattle.... Surely a more lovely spot never existed upon earth."[75] But the scenery was wasted on his mule, which got the scent of a grizzly bear and ditched its rider. Some vaqueros recaptured the mule, however, and Browne was able to finish his ride to San Luis Obispo in safety.

When Joaquín Estrada's claim to Santa Margarita came before the U. S. land commission in the early 1850's, the testimony showed that from September 1841 when the grant was made, to January 15, 1853, the date of the testimony here quoted, Estrada had "continued to live on it" and that it was "stocked with cattle and horses."[76]

In 1856, three years after the above testimony, Henry Miller, with his journal and sketch book, passed through the region. As he approached Rancho Paso Robles, he found that the grass had been burned and, "being blown by the wind, had run on for a number of miles."[77] The land beyond was dry and barren, but upon his arrival in the vicinity of Rancho Santa Margarita, it took on "a most refreshing aspect." The ranch was located, Miller said, "in a very fertile valley, well watered, and served formerly as a storehouse of the missionaries of San Luis Obispo. This house is about 200 feet long with an adobe wall round it. There are a few houses of adobe scattered round."[78] Then he added an heretofore unremarked-upon detail of the landscape, namely, the prevalence, along the road and on the hills, of "petrified shells which the natives burn and use for mortar and white wash." That the binding power of broken fragments of shell, and the resistance of material so bound to weathering, were utilized by the padres of the parent mission may account for Miller's comment, further on, about the buildings at San Luis Obispo Mission: though some of them were in ruins, they were "once remarkably strong, constructed of rock joined with a very hard cement."[79]

In the meantime, on two successive dates, Rancho Santa Margarita had entered into official records: on April 4, 1854, when Joaquín Estrada's claim to the rancho was confirmed by the U. S. land commission;[80] and on October 3, 1855, when confirmation was in turn made by the district court for the northern district of California. Finally, on February 5, 1857, an appeal (on jurisdictional grounds) was dismissed.[81]

A glimpse at the ranch and its geographical setting, as well as at the finances of Joaquín Estrada, its one-time owner, is given in the journal of William H. Brewer, botanist of the state geological survey of 1860-64. "We crossed," Brewer said, "the San Luis Pass of the Santa Lucia

Mountains, a pass about 1,500 or 1,800 feet high, and entered the Santa Margarita Valley." Down this valley his party proceeded to near its junction with the Salinas, and then camped at the Atascadero Rancho, whose distance from San Luis Obispo he gave as about 22 miles and about 6 from the "mission" of Santa Margarita.[82] The latter was said to be "in ruins. It is the seat of a fine ranch which was sold a few days ago for $45,000." According to Brewer, Estrada had gone to live at the Atascadero Rancho—"all he now has left of all his estates. Five years ago he had sixteen leagues of land (each league over 4,400 acres, or over 70,000 acres of land), 12,000 head of cattle, 4,000 horses, etc. Dissipation is scattering it at the rate of thousands of dollars for a single spree. Thus the ranches are fast passing out of the hands of the native population."[83]

In the case of Rancho Santa Margarita, Brewer's lament is less applicable, for the rancho's name has been given to a series of records far more profound than travelers' notebooks or legal documents; namely, a series of rocks, perpetuated in geological nomenclature as the "Santa Margarita formation,"[84] and possessing a characteristic fauna, viz., Neocene sea urchins, which flourished when the sea covered the area and the petrified shells of which the artist Henry Miller, quoted above, was quick to see and comment upon.

The purchaser of Santa Margarita Rancho, mentioned by Brewer in his journal under date of "April-May 1861," was Martin Murphy, Jr., who placed his new property in charge of his son Patrick W. Murphy—a public-spirited man with a reputation for "large-hearted generosity."[85] Under his regime, "old Spanish customs, barbecues and rodeos" were revived,[86] and, to entertain his guests properly, repairs were made to the old house, transforming it into a "commodious and comfortable country home."[87]

After the opening of the Southern Pacific R.R. and the establishment of the town of Santa Margarita in 1889, much of the original property was leased for use as farm land. By 1894, the estate had been greatly reduced, the reduction in acreage preceding by about half a dozen years the death of the owner "Don Patricio" in 1901.[88]

Regrettable as it is that so little remains of the buildings in which the religious and economic activities of the padres and their successors were carried on at San Luis Obispo and at its branch at Santa Margarita, the marvel is that, in a climate of such high rainfall as that at the latter site, and with the limitations imposed by the use of soluble adobe bricks and

inadequately mortared stone, anything whatever is left.[89] If to these drawbacks one adds the frequent earthquakes to which the region is subjected, the wonder grows.[90] In the following paragraphs an attempt is made to give the reader an idea as to how the rancho looked when it was a going concern.

The ruins of the main building are hidden by a large galvanized iron barn on the present-day Arnold Ranch, half a mile due north of the town of Santa Margarita. Much of the destruction of the building's interior as well as its southwest end took place in 1904, to prepare for the erection of this barn. But although there remains today only a shell of the former structure, it has been possible to "reconstruct" its original appearance by means of the accompanying sketch, prepared by the architect Clarence Cullimore.

The building, made of large pieces of rough sandstone and red bricks, is situated on a high bench of ground bordering a portion of Santa Margarita Creek. It is built on a SW-NE axis, and was approximately 135 feet long by 37 feet wide. The heavy wooden rafters supporting its tile roof were anchored into large portholes, spaced at close intervals along the upper portion of the side walls. The southwest side of the building forms the front. It faces a plaza, bordered on the west by Santa Margarita Creek, and on the east by the casa and the several one-room buildings erected by Joaquín Estrada. An adobe wall, built on a stone and mortar base, closely surrounded the entire structure. Although designed primarily to assist in the defense of the rancho, the wall was probably most useful in protecting the interior of the building from visits by the poultry and livestock.

The most elaborate of the three elliptical arched doorways on the southwest or front side of the building provided entrance into the chapel, which was approximately 40 feet long by 31 feet wide. There were no pews, and, as one entered, the altar was directly ahead against the northeast wall of the building. Windows to the right and left of the doorway, and one in the west-end wall, gave light and ventilation. As is characteristic of all the building's windows, they appear to be square on the outside; inside, however, the framework is arched, giving a most pleasing effect. Since the chapel was small, only a few people could kneel inside on the dirt floor, but the main entrance was of such size that when large numbers were present, they could view the entire ritual from without.

Two doorways in the chapel led into two smaller rooms reserved for

the use of the padres during their visits. There was no entry from these rooms into the center section of the building, access to other parts being along an open corridor. A painting of the Virgin, which had hung above the altar in the chapel, is today in the possession of Irvin A. Frasse of San Jose, California. Other relics and furnishings of Santa Margarita, which were originally salvaged by Patrick Murphy and were not subsequently given to the church, are in the possession of Bernard D. Murphy of Sunnyvale, California.

The central section of the building provided living quarters for the major domo and for an occasional traveler. It had two doorways, opposite to each other and giving access from the front and rear into a hallway. Four doorways, two on each side of the hall, led into four separate lodging-rooms. Each room had a window; and there were two additional windows, one on each side of the front doorway, to admit light into the hall.

The third section of the building was composed of two rooms, used primarily for the storage of grain-seed. A single doorway in the front wall of the building gave access to the first storeroom and thence, through a doorway in its rear wall, into the second. Only the rear of the two storerooms had a window, and this was located in the west end of the building.

We can imagine Santa Margarita Rancho, in its setting of tree-studded hills and fertile fields, at the peak of its activity under the regime of the padres. Today, under the regime of speed, thousands of motorists along U. S. highway 101 pass within a short distance of the rancho's former "seat," and, uninformed, speed on.

NOTES

1. Juan Crespí's account of the journey by land from San Diego to Monterey, 1769 [hereafter cited as "Crespí"], included in Francisco Palou's *Historical Memoirs of New California*, tr. and ed. by H. E. Bolton (Berkeley, 1926), II, 114.

2. Elizabeth E. Goldsmith, *Sacred Symbols in Art* (New York, 1912), pp. 14, 220-22.

3. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886-90) [hereafter cited as "Bancroft"] I, 142-46, "List of places between San Diego and San Francisco as named in Crespí's diary . . . with distances. . . ."

4. *The Book of Saints* (Ramsgate, London, 1921), p. 180.
5. Crespí (note 1 above), II, 155.
6. *Ibid.*, p. 172.
7. Palou (note 1 above), II, 359-62.
8. Crespí, pp. 171-72.
9. Bancroft (note 3 above), I, 100-101.
10. Crespí, p. 178.
11. Miguel Costansó, "Diary, the Portola Expedition of 1769-1770," ed. by F. J. Teggart, *Publs. Acad. Pac. Coast Hist.*, II, 227, 231.
12. Bancroft, I, 152-53.
13. Crespí, pp. 171-72.
14. A. L. Kroeber, "The Food Problem in California," in *The California Indians*, comp. and ed. by R. F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple (Berkeley, 1951), p. 236. As shown by the map on p. 4 of the volume, the Indians in the vicinity of Santa Margarita Rancho belonged to the Chumash (Obispeño subdivision) and Salinan (Migueleño subdivision) groups of the Hokan family.
15. Palou, *op cit.*, II, 362.
16. Pedro Fages, *A Historical, Political, and Natural Description of California*, tr. by H. I. Priestley (Berkeley, 1937), pp. 42-44.
17. Bancroft, I, 239.
18. Two instances should be mentioned: Zephyrin Engelhardt, *Mission San Luis Obispo* (Santa Barbara, 1933), p. 122, calls it "Santa Margarita de Cortona" in connection with the burial of Father Luis Gil y Taboada on Dec. 16, 1833; see also E. G. Gudde, *California Place Names* (Berkeley, 1949), p. 316.
19. "The Anza Expedition of 1775-1776, Diary of Pedro Font," ed. by F. J. Teggart, *Publs. Acad. Pac. Coast Hist.* III, 57.
20. H. E. Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions* (Berkeley, 1930), III, 112.
21. Bancroft, I, 298.
22. *Ibid.*, I, p. 385.
23. *The California Indians* (note 14 above), pp. 211-12, quoting Pedro Fages.
24. Crespí, p. 119 (diary-entry for July 20, 1769); Palou, *op. cit.*, II, 184-88. The latter adds: ". . . we went to a place where the pasture had not been burned."
25. Bancroft, I, 298.
26. Note 23 above, p. 212; H. E. Bolton, "The Mission as a Frontier Institution in the Spanish-American Colonies," *American Hist. Rev.*, XXIII (Oct. 1917), p. 53.
27. Bancroft, I, 470.
28. *Idem.*
29. Rainfall figures compiled by Agricultural Reference Library, Univ. Calif., Berkeley, from data in *Climatic Summary of the United States* (1932), for the period 1889-1916.
30. E. W. Hilgard, "Physico-Geographical and Agricultural Features of the

State of California," *10th U. S. Census* (1880), VI, pt. 1, p. 114; Myron Angel, *History of San Luis Obispo County* (Oakland: Thompson and West, 1883), p. 366.

31. Bancroft, I, 610, 690 (note).

32. *Ibid.*, I, 611, Borica to viceroy, Apri. 1795.

33. Bancroft, I, 559-60.

34. C. E. Chapman, *History of California: The Spanish Period* (New York, 1921), pp. 373-74. Theodore H. Hittell *(History of California,* San Francisco, 1885-97, I, 347-48) describes the tiles as "heavy, rough, half-cylindrical plates of hard-burnt clay."

35. "Shaler's Description of California," App. B, in R. G. Cleland's *A History of California: The American Period* (New York, 1923), p. 476.

36. Bancroft, II, 148.

37. *Ibid.*, II, 179, 384 (note); Eugene Duflot de Mofras, *Travels on the Pacific Coast,* 1841-42, tr. and ed. by M. E. Wilbur (Santa Ana, 1937), p. 199, says that during Father Luis Antonio Martínez' administration he had "imported or had built some modern looms, then taught the Indians to spin and weave ordinary cloth, and even very fine cotton fabrics. . . ."

38. Bancroft, I, 219 (note); a long list of alms, etc., is here given.

39. Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 390-91.

40. Bancroft, II, 268, 419-20.

41. *Ibid.*, II, 222 ff, especially pp. 233-34, 249, 253 ff.

42. *Ibid.*, II, 258-59, quoting Father-President Mariano Payeras' request on Dec. 19, 1819.

43. *Ibid.*, II, 620 (note). The fact that Santa Margarita was looked to as a retreat in time of invasion—a fact omitted here by Bancroft—was communicated to me (letter of Feb. 2, 1955) by Mrs. Edith Webb, author of *Indian Life at the Old Missions* (Los Angeles, 1952), who kindly referred me to the Informe of 1822, viz., ". . . para formar alguna retirada de la Mision en caso de Invaciones Maritimas . . ." Bancroft, II, 240, describes the evacuation-plans made by the padres of other missions during the Bouchard affair.

44. Chapman, *op. cit.*, p. 456, with list of provincial governors, their recurring terms, and areas of jurisdiction.

45. Alfred Robinson, *Life in California* (New York, 1846), pp. 84-85.

46. Bancroft, II, 618 (note), 619-20 (note). For Fages' recommendation, see *ibid.*, I, 484.

47. Bancroft, II, 620.

48. Robinson (note 45 above), p. 83.

49. Bancroft, III, 681.

50. *The Life and Adventures in California of Dr. Agustín Janssens, 1834-1856,* ed. by William H. Ellison and Francis Price (San Marino, 1953), p. 26.

51. Bancroft, III, 354 (note), 680-83, especially pp. 682-83 (note). In his report

to the governor on Oct. 5, 1838, Santiago Moreno, administrator of San Luis Obispo, stated that after secularization of the mission's properties, the Indians at Santa Margarita Rancho became insolent to a high degree. Engelhardt (note 18 above), p. 135.

52. *Ibid.*, I, 609.

53. *Ibid.*, I, 612-13; Hittell (note 34 above), II, 747-48.

54. I*bid.*, I, 607-608; Chapman, *op. cit.*, pp. 150-53.

55. Bancroft, III, 676-77.

56. "Transcript of the Proceedings in Case No. 501 [Case 149 S. D.], Joaquín Estrada, claimant, *vs.* the United States, defendant, for the Place Named Santa Margarita," p. 12. See U.S.G.S., *Geol. Atlas No. 101* (1904), for boundaries of the "Santa Margarita Grant."

57. "Transcript . . .," p. 13.

58. *Ibid.*, pp. 4, 20.

59. Bancroft, IV, 657.

60. Transcript of the Proceedings (note 56 above), p. 13; testimony dated Aug. 9, 1841, and signed by José R. Estrada.

61. *Ibid.*, p. 19.

62. *Ibid.*, p. 6.

63. Bancroft, IV, 33 (note).

64. *Ibid.*, IV, 423-24, 552-53, 659.

65. *Ibid.*, IV, 553, 558 (note).

66. *Ibid.*, V, 144, 262-63.

67. *Notes of Travel . . . from the official reports of Colonel Frémont and Major Emory* (New York, 1849), p. 27.

68. Bancroft, V, 375.

69. Edwin Bryant, *What I Saw in California: being the Journal of a Tour . . . 1846, 1847* (New York, 1848), 371-72.

70. *Ibid.*, p. 375.

71. *Ibid.*, p. 424.

72. Bancroft, V, 639-40 (note).

73. J. Ross Browne, "Dangerous Journey," *Harper's New Monthly Magazine*, XXIV (1861-1862), p. 741.

74. Browne, *op. cit.*, XXV (1862), 13.

75. *Ibid.*, pp. 14-15.

76. Transcript of the Proceedings, *op. cit.*, p. 6.

77. *An Account of a Tour of the California Missions, 1856; the Journal and Drawings of Henry Miller*, ed. by Edith Coulter and Eleanor Bancroft (San Francisco: Book Club of Calif., 1952), p. 27.

78. *Ibid.*, pp. 27-28.

79. *Ibid.*, pp. 28-29.

80. Transcript of the Proceedings, *op. cit.*, pp. 26-27.

81. Ogden Hoffman, *Reports of Land Cases Determined in the United States District Court* (San Francisco, 1862), App., pp. 68-69.

82. *Journal of William H. Brewer*, ed. by Francis P. Farquhar(New Haven, 1930), p. 92.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 93.

84. For Santa Margarita formation, above the Monterey shale on SW side of the Salinas Valley, see "Water Resources of the Salinas Valley," U.S.G.S., *Water Supply Paper No. 89* (1904), p. 15; and J. C. Merriam, in *Bulletin Dept. Geol.*, Univ. Calif., II (1898), 113, on the San Pablo formation's probably "equivalent" content of Neocene sea urchins. Pedro Fages' bear hunt is also perpetuated (see atlas, note 56 above) in the term "Osos Basalt," referring to the occurrence of surface flows in the Cañada de Los Osos, where Fages hunted and of which he wrote in 1769: "... at a distance of two leagues from this mission [San Luis Obispo] are as many as eight springs of a bitumin of thick resin which they call chapopote ... used chiefly by these natives for calking their small water craft. ..." (note 16 above, p. 52).

85. San Luis Obispo *Tribune*, Souvenir R.R. Edition, May 5, 1894.

86. Chris N. Jesperson, ed., *A History of San Luis Obispo County* (n. p.: Harold McL. Meier, 1939), p. 306.

87. M. B. Hoover, H. E. Rensch, and E. G. Rensch, *Historic Spots in California* (Stanford, 1953), p. 306.

88. *Tribune*, note 85 above.

89. In 1889-90, the seasonal rainfall (Sept. 1-Aug. 31) at Santa Margarita rose as high as 49.79 inches, some ten inches higher than the corresponding rainfall at San Luis Obispo of 38.73 inches (note 29 above).

90. See "Descriptive Catalogue of Earthquakes of the Pacific Coast of the United States, 1769 to 1928," *Bulletin of the Seismological Soc., Am.*, XXIX (Jan. 1939), for frequency with which the Santa Margarita-San Luis Obispo region is listed. *The Report of the State Earthquake Investigation Commission* (Washington, D. C., 1908), I, pt. 2, p. 298, states that the vibration in the great San Francisco earthquake of 1906 followed "southward over the divide thru Templeton, Santa Margarita, Dove, and Questa.... At San Luis Obispo the shock was hard enough to waken all ordinary sleepers ... estimated by some to have lasted 20 seconds."

Drake in California:

A Review of the Evidence and the Testimony of the Plate of Brass

INTRODUCTION. For many years there has been and still is a controversy regarding the place where Francis Drake landed in 1579 to repair his vessel. Information on the subject up to 1884, the date of publication of Volume I of H. H. Bancroft's *History of California,* is reviewed therein between pages 81 and 94. Half a century after his book appeared—specifically in April 1937—the finding of the Plate erected by Drake on leaving his anchorage was announced at a meeting of the California Historical Society and caused a revival of interest in the topic that has continued ever since. The evidence as to whether he entered San Francisco Bay, or whether he landed to grave the *Golden Hind* outside of that bay, does not seem conclusive respecting either side in the controversy, and the California Historical Society has taken no position in support of the one or the other but has held itself ready to hear presentations of both views.

Pursuant to this policy, the Society held a meeting on June 14, 1956, at which was presented an argument, by an organization known as the Drake Navigators Guild, that the landing was at Drakes Bay, inside Point Reyes.

Pursuing the same policy, a meeting was held November 8, 1956, at which Francis P. Farquhar summarized the evidence, and was followed by Walter A. Starr who presented arguments in favor of a landing close to the place where the Plate had been originally discovered.

It might be noted that the open-forum policy goes back to March 12, 1889—before the Society assumed its present incorporated status—when George Davidson of the U. S. coast and geodetic survey and honorary professor of geodesy and astronomy at the University of California, read to the members his famous paper, "Identification of the Anchorage of Sir Francis Drake on the Coast of California," in which, reversing his earlier stand in favor of the San Francisco Bay site, he gave support to the view that Drake had landed close under Point Reyes. It is the intention of the Society to continue to offer facilities for presenting arguments one way or the other, without committing itself to a determination of the matter in the absence of indisputable evidence.

In line with this policy, the papers of Mr. Farquhar and Mr. Starr are presented below. They show that although Davidson made charts to prevent ships from foundering, theorists on the subject of Drake's anchorage must chart their own courses and help to rescue those who may have foundered during the process.

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

A REVIEW OF THE EVIDENCE

By Francis P. Farquhar

The evidence upon which opinions may be formed about the place where Francis Drake landed in California can be classified as follows: Documentary (books, manuscript records, maps); Archaeological (The Plate of Brass, excavations); Ethnological (Indians); Zoological (animals); Botanical (plants); and Geographical. But before conclusions can be drawn from this evidence it must be subjected to critical examination in order to establish what may be relied upon and what must be set aside as of doubtful validity or, at most, conjectural. False assumptions are to be avoided. It is a false assumption, for instance, to conclude that the name "Drake's Bay" as found on early maps must have been given because the cartographers had knowledge that Drake landed there. Actually, it was quite fortuitous and largely the result of confusion between *Saint* Francis and *Sir* Francis.* So let us proceed to an inquiry as to what is definitely known about Drake's visit to California and to a survey of the physical objects that relate to it.

I. DOCUMENTARY

A. Books. In the first place, there is no book that contains a contemporary account of Drake's voyage with any detail about his visit to California. It is known that Drake kept a journal, probably illustrated by sketches and accompanied by charts, but it has never come to light. It was presented to Queen Elizabeth on his return and was promptly suppressed. Undoubtedly it contained "classified" information not to be permitted to get into the hands of inquisitive Spanish agents. Nothing that has ever been published gives any sign that it was derived from an inspection of this journal. There were other journals or records kept by members of the ship's company, notably those of Francis Fletcher, but no part of them was published until long after the voyage. The originals of any parts that relate to California are not known to be in existence today.

1. "*THE FAMOUS VOYAGE.*" The earliest printed account of Drake's Voyage is in Richard Hakluyt's *The principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English nation, made by Sea or over Land, to the most remote and farthest distant Quarters of the earth at any time within the compasse of these 1500 yeeres*, published in London,

*Wagner, *Drake's Voyage around the World*, p. 161.

1589. The portion relating to Drake's Voyage was not printed simultaneously with the rest of the book but consists of six unnumbered leaves bound-in later. There is internal evidence that these leaves were not printed until 1594, or possibly not until after Drake's death in 1596. The significance of this is conjectural, but it makes no difference in the knowledge we have of the California visit. "The Famous Voyage" was probably compiled from several sources, very likely including a manuscript of Francis Fletcher's now lost.

This account, with no differences that concern us here, was repeated in Hakluyt's expanded work, *The Third and Last Volume of the Voyages, Navigations, Traffiques, and Discoveries of the English Nation*, London, 1600. In the same volume there is another account, with some variations; but there is no material change or addition. The account occurs again in *Hakluytus Posthumus, or Purchas His Pilgrimes*, London, 1625. Several translations were printed shortly after the original publication, notably a Dutch text pasted on one of the examples of the famous "Hondius Broadside."

The text of "The Famous Voyage" is most readily available in the several modern reprints of Hakluyt and Purchas, and in California Historical Society's *Drake's Plate of Brass*, 1953; Henry R. Wagner's *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage around the World*, San Francisco, 1926; and Sir Richard Carnac Temple's *The World Encompassed and Analogous Contemporary Documents concerning Sir Francis Drake's Circumnavigation of the World*, Argonaut Press, London, 1926.

2. "*THE WORLD ENCOMPASSED.*" The full title is "The World Encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, Being his next voyage to that to *Nombre de Dios* formerly imprinted; Carefully collected out of the notes of Master Francis Fletcher *Preacher in this employment, and divers others his followers in the same:* Offered now at last to public view, both for the honour of the actor, but especially for the stirring up of *heroick spirits, to benefit their countrie, and eternize their names by like noble attempts.*" It was printed in London, 1628. Read that title again, for the sake of its flavor, as well as for the information it contains. There are some people who are under the impression that the book was written by Sir Francis Drake; others that it was written by Francis Fletcher. But be it observed that this work appeared nearly fifty years after the events described. Moreover, while it purports to be published under the auspices of Drake's nephew, who was also Sir Francis, there is no evidence that any personal knowledge is contributed either by the

uncle or by the nephew. The sources of information remain uncertain, especially in so far as the California events are concerned. Although it is frequently assumed that these events are taken from Fletcher's notes, we cannot be positive about it, for his notes of that period are lost. Nevertheless, by the analogy of other portions of the narrative in which the origin is undisputed, we may accept a considerable amount of the California detail as coming from Fletcher's observations. It is certain that many of the factual statements are of a character that could not have been invented; they may be garbled or given out of sequence, but they must have been derived from one or more eyewitnesses. Yet, as it stands, this account of California must be regarded as a secondary source, to be accepted cautiously. Moreover, in the absence of proof, it is well not to refer to it as "Fletcher's Narrative," but to call it by its title, "The World Encompassed."

3. *HERRERA'S "HISTORIA GENERAL DEL MUNDO."* Herrera's *Historia* was published in Valladolid in 1606, and is, therefore, one of the earliest books in which there is reference to Drake's California visit. It contains an account of the voyage taken almost literally from a deposition made by John Drake in 1584 at Santa Fé, in the Argentine. John Drake was a young cousin of the captain-general and went on the voyage as a cabin boy or page. Wagner gives a translation of the passages that concern us, but there is very little to be learned from them about the site of the landing in California. Further reference to John Drake's testimony is made in the comments on Manuscript Records.

B. Manuscript Records. The few manuscripts that have been discovered which throw any light on Drake's visit to California are to be found in translation in Wagner; in Mrs. Zelia Nuttall's *New Light on Drake*, London, 1914; and in Lady Elliott-Drake's *The Family and Heirs of Sir Francis Drake*, London, 1911.

1. *THE ANONYMOUS NARRATIVE.* This is a MS (No. 280) in the British Museum.* It is of uncertain origin, but bears evidence of having been written by someone who had been with Drake or had direct knowledge of the events of the voyage. It contains two statements that are regarded by some as significant in respect to the Cali-

*This is the MS referred to in Bancroft's *California*, Vol. 1, p. 81, and in his *Northwest Coast*, Vol. 1, p. 140, as "A Discourse of Sir Francis Drake's Iorney and Exploytes."

fornia visit: (1) "... hee turned back ... untill hee came to 44.gr. and then hee found a harborow for his ship where hee grounded his ship to trim her, ..."; (2) "... in this place Drake set up a greate post and nayled thereon a vjd, ... also hee nayled uppon this post a plate of lead. ..." (California Historical Society's *Drake's Plate of Brass*, p. 27.) Wagner attaches great significance to the second point. One of his reasons for not accepting the authenticity of the plate of brass is that the customary material for inscribing acts of possessions was lead. (Wagner: "Creation of Rights of Sovereignty through Symbolic Acts," *Pacific Historical Review*, December 1938.)

2. *THE DECLARATIONS OF JOHN DRAKE.* There are two declarations: the one made at Santa Fé in 1584, and one made at Lima in 1587. The originals are in the *Archivo General de las Indias*, Seville. Lady Elliott-Drake's translation is the most satisfactory, but Mrs. Nuttall's is also sufficient for our purposes. There is very little that is new in either of these documents, but there is corroboration of many of the statements, particularly about the Indians, made in "The World Encompassed."

3. *DIARY OF RICHARD MADDOX.* Richard Maddox was chaplain on Edward Fenton's voyage in 1582. He reports some information obtained presumably from members of Drake's crew. The MS is in the British Museum. It is discussed by Miss E. G. R. Taylor in "Francis Drake and the Pacific: Two Fragments," *Pacific Historical Review*, September 1932, and by Wagner in "George Davidson, Geographer of the Northwest Coast of America," *California Historical Society Quarterly*, December 1932. Its chief significance, however, is ethnological, as discussed by Robert F. Heizer in *Francis Drake and the California Indians, 1579*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1947.

C. Maps. Of the many maps from which information can be gleaned about Drake's voyage only two sets need be examined for direct evidence regarding the California landing.

1. *THE HONDIUS BROADSIDE.* Originals of this map are in the British Museum and the Royal Geographical Society, in London. There have been many reproductions, especially of the small pictorial inserts at the corners. Two of these inserts show Drake's ship at anchor in "Portus Javae Majoris," and "Portus Novae Albionis," respectively. The latter is generally considered to be one of the key items of evidence in the search for the site of Drake's landing in California. Opinions

differ widely, however, both as to the reliability of the drawing as an actual scene and as to the place depicted. The *Broadside* consists of two hemispheres on a projection that displays to advantage the ocean tracks of Drake and Cavendish. The scale is such, however, that very little can be deduced from the map itself about the location of Drake's landing, except that it was at or near 38 degrees. The Royal Geographical Society's copies are described in the *Geographical Journal*, November 1927, LXX:5; and July 1928, LXXII:1. There is a reproduction of the British Museum's copy in Wagner's *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage around the World*, and the insert, "Portus Novae Albionis," is reproduced in connection with almost every discussion of the subject, notably in the California Historical Society's *Drake's Plate of Brass* and in Dr. John W. Robertson's *Francis Drake and Other Early Explorers along the Pacific Coast*, San Francisco, 1927.

Jodocus Hondius was born in 1567 and after an apprenticeship as an engraver in Antwerp, went to England for several years between 1585 and 1593. He then went to Amsterdam, where it is generally assumed he completed his famous map. It is of great significance that during the time he was in London there was on display a map showing Drake's voyage, with decorations which may have come from Drake's sketch book and may have been the source of Hondius' pictorial inserts. Purchas speaks of "the map of Sir Francis Drakes voyage presented to Queen Elizabeth, still hanging in his Majesties Gallerie at White Hall neere the Privie chamber."

With the knowledge that this little sketch of "Portus Novae Albionis" may be the key to the whole problem of Drake's port, everyone who has attempted a solution has compared it with all conceivable sites on the coast, either by personal on-the-spot inspection, or by maps, sketches, and photographs. There are those who need no other evidence to convince themselves that Drake landed at Drake's Bay,* or in an estuary thereof, or at Trinidad Bay, or at Bodega Bay, or at one of the coves within San Francisco Bay. Members of the Drake Navigators Guild have recently done an immense amount of research to show that Hondius' "Portus" conforms in every detail with the features of the inner estuary known as "Drakes Estero." The results are plausible, and extremely informative about 16th century ships, ports, and methods of careening, but they do not constitute proof. All that can be said is that

*"Drakes Bay" as a place name does not require the apostrophe except when quoted from a source that uses it.

the Estero site *could* be the site depicted in the Portus sketch, but convincing evidence is still lacking that it is.

2. *THE DUDLEY MAPS.* There was published in Florence in 1646-1647 a posthumous work of Sir Robert Dudley, a son of the Earl of Leicester. In this *Arcano del Mare* there are several maps of the west coast of America. One of them is reproduced in Wagner's *Drake's Voyage*. There are also, or were, in the Royal Library in Munich some manuscript charts made by Dudley. Two of these, copied by hand, are printed in George Davidson's "Identification of Sir Francis Drake's Anchorage on the Coast of California in the Year 1579," *California Historical Society Publication*, San Francisco, 1890. Davidson discusses these maps both in his "Identification" and in his later work, "Francis Drake on the Northwest Coast of America in the Year 1579," *Transactions and Proceedings of the Geographical Society of the Pacific*, San Francisco, 1908, and attaches considerable importance to them, especially as determining Drake's latitudes. Wagner, on the other hand, considers the Dudley maps as having very little significance. (*Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, San Francisco, 1937). Dudley's maps, says Wagner, "bear no evidence that he obtained any geographical information from Drake or anyone else connected with the expedition." (*Drake's Voyage*, p. 437.)

II. ARCHAEOLOGICAL

A. The Plate of Brass. The subject of the Plate of Brass is a controversial one. As it is not the purpose of this essay to present arguments or to state conclusions, all that needs to be said about the Plate itself is that there is one, and that it is on display in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. Its character and the circumstances of its discovery are fully set forth in the publications of the California Historical Society: "Drake's Plate of Brass: Evidence of his Visit to California in 1579," constituting *Part Two of California Historical Society Quarterly*, March 1937, XVI: 1; the same, printed separately as *Special Publication No. 13;* "Drake's Plate of Brass Authenticated," *Special Publication No. 14*, 1938; and a revision of the two combined as "The Plate of Brass: Evidence of the Visit of Francis Drake to California in the Year 1579," *Special Publication No. 25*.

Not everyone has accepted the aforementioned object as genuine, Henry R. Wagner among them. In an article in *Saturday Evening Post*, April 3, 1943, "True or False?", Joseph W. Ellison, Professor of His-

tory, Oregon State College, mentions other notable skeptics. Nevertheless, most of those who have examined the Plate itself and are familiar with the circumstances of its discovery are satisfied that it is the identical plate that Francis Drake set up somewhere on the coast of California.

The provenance of the Plate has been confused by the intrusion of the story of a chauffeur named Caldeira, who said that he had picked up in the vicinity of Drakes Bay a piece of metal which he believed to be the plate later found by Beryle Shinn. Now, no one doubts Shinn's statements about where and how he found the plate, in a pile of rocks at the brow of a hill a few hundred feet above the highway near the intersection at Corte Madera Creek. If Caldeira's plate was the same as Shinn's, how did it get from the roadside a quarter to a half a mile away to the top of the hill? This has not been explained. Caldeira's story, therefore, although doubtless sincerely given, cannot be admitted as evidence that the Plate of Brass found by Shinn on the hill above Corte Madera Creek came from the vicinity of Drakes Bay many miles away.

Before leaving the subject of the Plate it should be mentioned that there are those who claim to know that it is a forgery. One story has it that a man named Clark and the late George Barron, one-time curator of the De Young Museum, conspired to produce a forgery and that the plate in question is it. To assert that a forgery has been made is one thing; to identify it with a known object is quite another. No such identification has been made, and this story, like a number of others, fails to qualify as evidence.

The story of Mrs. Limback, given in an interview to Virginia Dennison and published in the Oakland *Tribune*, November 7, 1956, is of another character. Mrs. Limback recalled that when a young girl, in 1892, she had seen a metal plate, bearing the date 1579 and an English sixpence, imbedded in a tree overlooking Sausalito Cove. The sincerity of her belief is not questioned, but questions of memory and resemblance intervene to place this rather charming story out of the category of evidence.

B. Excavations. A good deal of work has been done in the Drakes Bay area by trained archaeologists. There have been some interesting and important discoveries, but nothing yet to prove that articles unearthed or sites surveyed have any connection with Drake; it seems, rather, that they are relics of Cermeño, who was wrecked there a little later. (Robert Fleming Heizer, "Archaeological Evidences of Sebastian Rodríguez Cermeño's California Visit in 1595," *California Historical*

Society Quarterly, December 1941; Clement W. Meighan and Robert F. Heizer, "Archaeological Exploration of 16th-century Indian Mounds at Drake's Bay," in California Historical Society's *The Plate of Brass*, 1953.) Archaeological exploration continues and may yet bring forth evidence of one kind or another.

III. ETHNOLOGICAL, ZOOLOGICAL, BOTANICAL

A. Indians. The appearance and physique, the costumes and accessories, the huts and boats, the ceremonies and dances, the words and ejaculations of the inhabitants described in the Drake narratives have been the subject of critical scrutiny by ethnologists, both amateur and professional, in an endeavor to fit the site of the landing into the habitat of a known tribe. A. L. Kroeber, whose *Handbook of the Indians of California*, Washington, 1925, is considered a leading authority, finds that the descriptions fit the Coast Miwok, a tribe dwelling largely in the region of present-day Sonoma and Marin counties. In an able summary of what is known of these Indians, replete with references to prior publications, Robert F. Heizer reaches the same conclusion. ("Francis Drake and the California Indians, 1579," *University of California Publications in American Archaeology and Ethnology*, March 20, 1947; also printed as a separate book.)

B. Animals. The most intriguing animal mentioned in the narratives is a "strange kinde of Conies . . . their heads and bodies, in which they resemble other Conies, are but small; his tayle, like the tayle of a Rat, exceeding long; and his feet like the pawes of a Want or Moale; under his chinne, on either side, he hath a bagge, into which he gathereth his meate, when he hath filled his belly abroade, that he may with it, either feed his young, or feed himselfe, when he lists not to travaile from his burrough: the people eate their bodies, and make great account of their skinnes, for their kings holidaies coate was made of them." *(The World Encompassed.)*

In one of the earliest studies of the question of the site of Drake's landing, J. D. B. Stillman ("Did Drake Discover San Francisco Bay?", *Overland Monthly*, October 1868, repeated substantially in the same author's *Seeking the Golden Fleece*, San Francisco, 1877), makes a great point of these "conies." They are not found on the coast, he says, nor where it is foggy. "It is most numerous in the warm valleys of the interior." He points out the difficulties of travel from Drakes Bay across the heavily forested ranges in order to come to any spot where conies

might be seen, and concludes that Drake must have entered San Francisco Bay. The animal is generally identified as the common ground squirrel.

C. PLANTS. Of the plants mentioned in the narratives, two have caused comment, the *tabáh*, or *tobáh*, and the *petáh*. From the latter "They make a kinde of meale, and either bake it into bread, or eat it raw." Heizer, following Kroeber, identifies *potáh* as *Brodiaea* and consistent with Coast Miwok culture; *tabáh* is less definite.

IV. GEOGRAPHICAL

The geographical features that figure in our problem remain, it might be supposed, for us to see for ourselves. But such is not entirely the case. The major features are still there—the headlands and cliffs, the bays and the estuaries—but there is a difference. Centuries of storms, currents, and tides have modified the shorelines and have opened or closed estuaries; rivers have brought down soil from the hills and detritus from far inland to make mud flats; even white cliffs lose much of their whiteness when the thousands of sea birds no longer fertilize their roosts. Nevertheless, the main contours remain, and the charts and profiles of George Davidson's great Pilot books reflect them almost as well as when first published. (*Coast Pilot of California, Oregon, and Washington Territory*, Washington, 1869; and the monumental *Fourth Edition*, 1889.) Today we have another means of considering the geographical evidence: in an hour's flight, circling over Marin County and southern Sonoma, we can almost certainly see the very spot where Francis Drake landed and careened the *Golden Hind*, going on four centuries ago—but just which spot, who shall say for sure?

EVIDENCE OF DRAKE'S VISIT TO CALIFORNIA, 1579

By WALTER A. STARR

WHERE THE PLATE OF BRASS WAS FOUND

In the summer of 1936 I was traveling south on highway 101 from San Rafael and when coming down the ridge approaching Greenbrae one of my tires was punctured. Veering to the side of the road I stopped my car. On the ridge above was a likely picnic spot. I climbed under a barbed wire fence and climbed to the top of the ridge. There an extensive view presented itself. To the east was Point San Quentin and upper San Francisco Bay, bounded on the southwest by the Tiburon peninsula. Below was the tidal estuary of Corte Madera Creek. Approaching an outcrop of rock near the top of the ridge, I picked up rocks and rolled them down the hill. As I pulled a rock from the soil, I saw the edge of a metal plate which was partly covered by the rock. When I pulled the plate free from the ground, I noticed that it was about the size to repair the frame of my automobile. So when I returned to my car I took it along and tossed it in. Several months later I thought of repairing the frame. While handling the plate, I noticed that it seemed to have some inscription on it. I scrubbed it with a brush and soap and noted a date, 1579, near the top of the plate. This interested me, so I showed it to a few of my friends, but none could make out what it was until one, a college student, deciphered the word Drake and suggested that the metal plate be shown to Dr. Herbert E. Bolton of the University of California. This was done and Dr. Bolton discovered that it was Sir Francis Drake's Plate of Brass.

(Signed) BERYLE SHINN *October 31, 1956*

When I asked Mr. Shinn if he thought anyone could have deciphered the letters or figures on the plate before he scrubbed it with the brush, he replied that he was sure they could not have done so.

On February 28, 1937, Dr. Bolton and Allen L. Chickering, then president of the California Historical Society, went with Shinn to Marin County where he led them to the spot on the ridge where he had found Drake's Plate of Brass. Shortly thereafter, Mrs. Starr and I returned to the site with Mr. Chickering to take photographs of the place of discovery and views from the location. Francis P. Farquhar also took similar photographs a few days later. The outcrop of rock shown in the pictures was identified by Shinn as the place below which he found the plate.

It must be realized that at the time of Drake's landing, San Quentin Bay had not been so silted up and therefore the shore line extended along the natural contour of the bay below the ridge. All the coves and inlets of San Francisco Bay have been more or less filled, because, during the winter and spring run-off, a large volume of silt from plowing and hydraulic-mining operations is brought into the bay by the Sacramento and other rivers. I have witnessed much of this during my life time.

Drake's camp and fort, where they "entrenched themselves with walls of stone," would have been at the foot of the hill near the shore line of the bay. There, in a sheltered cove with water nearby, he could have careened his ship. In spite of the fact that this area has been worked over, filled in and used for many years, it would be worth while to explore it for the site of the fort.

In 1947, because the ridge where Shinn found the plate was about to be subdivided ,the area around the rock outcrop was dug up, under the auspices of the state university and the national park service, and examined with the hope of finding the hole into which the post supporting the plate had been driven. How it could be expected that a post-hole would be recognized after 368 years I do not understand. However, I do not think there ever was a post-hole. According to *The World Encompassed:* "Before we went from thence, our General caused to be set up a *monument* of our being there; as *also* of her Majesties and successors right and title to the Kingdom, namely, a plate of brass fast nailed to a great and firme post, . . ." The accompanying pictures certainly suggest that the "firme post" was held in place by rocks piled up against the rocky outcrop, which thus made the monument. The large amount of loose rock on the hillside below the outcrop and on the outcrop itself was evidence of it.

I think it possible that the Plate of Brass was not molested but was left to fall when the post rotted, by reason of the fact that the Indians considered Drake's men as Gods and hence their monument and post were taboo. Such an opinion is supported by the narrative in *The World Encompassed:* "Notwithstanding, nothing could persuade them, nor remove that opinion which they had conceived of us, that we should be Gods. . . . When they came to the top of the hill, at the bottom whereof we had built our fort, they made a stand; where one (appointed as their chief speaker) wearied both us, his hearers and himself too, with a long and tedious oration; delivered with strange and violent gestures, his voice being extended to the uttermost strength of nature . . . which



Looking Southeast over San Quentin Bay. Beryle Shinn found Drake's "Plate of Brass" below the far side of the outcrop embedded in the ground and partly overlaid by a rock, evidence that it had been where found for a long period of time.



Looking South over the outcrop of rock below the face of which Beryle Shinn found Drake's "Plate of Brass" embedded in the ground. The loose rocks on the outcrop and below its face were carried there for a purpose.



Looking West uphill to the same outcrop and to another beyond. The scattered rocks on the hillside below the nearest outcrop, in an area otherwise free of loose rocks, also indicate that they are the remains of a monument built against its face which held up the "firme post" to which the "Plate of Brass" was nailed.



Looking West from what was a cove on San Quentin Bay. The two rock outcrops can be faintly seen on the skyline of the ridge. The description in "The World Encompassed" points to this cove as Drake's landing place and fort.

done, the men laying down their bows upon the hill and leaving their women and children behind them came down with their presents, in such sort as if they had appeared before a God indeed." This quotation paints a picture of the Indians as they came, from their village in the Corte Madera Valley, over the ridge where the monument was afterwards set up, and down to Drake's camp. This approach of the Indians is mentioned several times.

Soon after the meeting of the California Historical Society on April 6, 1937—the time when Dr. Bolton made known the finding of Drake's Plate of Brass by Beryle Shinn—William Caldeira, who was employed as a chauffeur by my neighbor J. B. Metcalf, told my chauffeur that he thought he had picked up something that looked like the plate, three years before. He had read the report of the meeting in the newspaper giving details of the discovery and pictures of the plate. He was then employed by an old friend of mine, Leon Bocqueraz of Oakland. Mr. Bocqueraz was a member of the Marin Country Club, a hunting organization leasing land bordering on so-called Drake's Bay. On a day in November 1933, as Mr. Bocqueraz told the story to me, Caldeira drove him to a place on Drakes Bay called Laguna Ranch to hunt quail. While Bocqueraz hunted, Caldeira, as was his custom, walked along the shore. If he saw something of interest, he would pick it up and show it to Mr. Bocqueraz when he returned to the car. This was a favorite place during prohibition days for smugglers to land liquor on the beach, and many things were scattered about. This day, when Bocqueraz returned to the car, he said, "Well, Kelly [as he called him], what did you find today?" He answered, "I picked this up [showing a metal plate]; where do you think it came from?" Bocqueraz replied that it was probably from some ship, but it was almost dark; he couldn't see very well, so he told him to bring it along and show it to him at the club house. "When we got there," to use Bocqueraz' words, "he had evidently forgotten about it and so had I. I was very tired and did not attach much importance to it. A week or two later Kelly was driving me back to the club. We crossed the ferry from Richmond to San Quentin and then by our usual route by way of San Rafael. He took the plate up saying there was no use to keep it and threw it out of the car." It should be noted that Mr. Bocqueraz was never given an opportunity to examine it. In an interview assigned to the University of California Library, November 9, 1955, given by Mr. Bocqueraz, he said, "After we had crossed the Bay, before reaching San Quentin, he took (he had the plaque in the car all the time) and threw it away."

According to Caldeira's story as it came to me, he had been cleaning out the side-pocket on the door of the car as he crossed on the ferry, and had come upon the metal plate which he had dropped in the pocket at Drakes Bay. Caldeira is reported to have said he "threw it out of his automobile on the right hand side of the road from San Quentin to Kentfield in the first meadow after one leaves the intersection of the San Francisco-San Rafael road and the San Quentin-Kentfield road." This is a different road from the one used in Mr. Bocqueraz' account.

After the Caldeira story had been told to the California Historical Society, it seemed thereafter to eclipse Beryle Shinn's discovery. Unfortunately, the impression got around that the spot where Caldeira was said to have thrown his metal plate was almost at the spot where Shinn found the Drake plate. Reference is made in the preface of "The Plate of Brass," published by the California Historical Society, to the statement quoted above, but quotes Caldeira as saying that he "threw it away near the point where Beryle Shinn picked it up." The air-line distance from the place in the valley where Caldeira said he threw his metal plate away to where Shinn found the Plate of Brass on top of the ridge is a matter of from ½ to 1½ miles, depending on which meadow you measured from. The distance from the point near San Quentin, where Mr. Bocqueraz said Caldeira threw out his metal plate immediately after leaving the boat, to the place of discovery, is about 2 miles. The evidence would seem to prove that Shinn's plate of brass had nothing to do with the piece of metal plate picked up by Caldeira.

But most important as evidence are the conditions under which Beryle Shinn found the Plate of Brass. His signed statement, which confirms the report he made at the time of the meeting in 1937, says that it was *embedded* in the ground with a rock partly overlying it. He did not "pick it up." Only by being where it was found for a very long period of time could it have become so embedded. It could not have been recently dropped there. The accumulation of the natural patina on both sides of the plate, which made possible its authentication as genuine, required that it must have been embedded in the soil over a period of many years.

Mark Twain at the Sanitary Ball—and Elsewhere?

By William C. Miller

The Nevada State Historical Society has in its collection of old papers a copy of the *Territorial Enterprise* for January 10, 1863, and a letter to the editors in the same issue leads one to believe that the "local column," headed The Sanitary Ball, is a hitherto unrecognized bit of reporting by Mark Twain. Of course "Dan De Quille" (William Wright), too, reported for the sheet in those days, but the letter just referred to removes De Quille from Virginia City: "I left Carson on the 28th, in a buggy . . . and came to Fort Churchill the first day, and on the 29th came beyond the Slough, and took the stage that night. I found in the stage . . . the original "Dan De Quill" [*sic*]. . . . Yours, respectfully, Swamp."[1] And obligingly, although somewhat ambiguously, De Quille answers those who might say he had time to return to the Comstock between December 29, 1862, and January 8, 1863, the latter being the day of the Sanitary Ball:

> I had been at work on the Enterprise about two years, when in December, 1862, I concluded to take a trip to the "States," whereupon the proprietors of the paper . . . engaged "Josh" (Mr. Clemens) to come in from Aurora and take a position on their paper as reporter. I was absent from the Comstock about nine months . . . and when I returned, Mr. Clemens had shed his nom de plume of "Josh" and taken that which he still retains and has made famous.[2]

It would appear that De Quille had temporarily vacated his post with the *Enterprise*. Indisputable evidence places his successor in the city editor's chair on January 8, 1863; the man who, on that day, was responsible for "local items" was Samuel Clemens—at least, a member of the writing fraternity wrote in the Washoe *Times* on January 10, 1863: "That mad wag, Clemens, who *localizes* [italics mine] for the Virginia Enterprise, put a comical speech into the mouth of our Representative, Mr. Winters . . . Clemens, in yesterday's Enterprise, explains his hoax. . . ."[3] So De Quille was traveling, and Twain was "localizing."

Although the external evidence is thus readily susceptible to the conclusion we are seeking—authenticity of authorship—even more so is the internal evidence; namely, that if, as we read "The Sanitary Ball," we keep in mind the statement of Senator William M. Stewart, "Clemens had a great habit of making fun of the . . . girls, and wrote ridiculous pieces about parties and other social events . . .,"[4] it will be apparent that the "local column" has a story which fits Stewart's description.

The ball was one of many social events given throughout the country during the Civil War to raise funds for the relief of the wounded sailors and soldiers of the North, the secretary of war having, in 1861, created an agency called the "Sanitary Commission" to handle such contributions. In *Roughing It*, Mark Twain describes the enthusiasm aroused when the news of the secretary's action first reached Virginia City. An impromptu opportunity having been given the citizens to deposit free-will offerings in a vacant cart, "Women plunged into the crowd, trimly attired, fought their way to the cart with their coin, and emerged again, by and by, with their apparel in a state of hopeless dilapidation."[5] Taken in connection with the present report on the ball for the benefit of the same cause, the effect is to convince the reader that ladies' garments of the 1860's were of a style to court disaster, whenever their wearers got into what might be called "tight places."

THE SANITARY BALL

The Sanitary Ball at La Plata Hall on Thursday night was a very marked success, and proved beyond the shadow of a doubt, the correctness of our theory, that ladies never fail in undertakings of this kind. If there had been about two dozen more people there, the house would have been crowded—at is was, there was room enough on the floor for the dancers, without trespassing on their neighbors' corns. Several of those long, trailing dresses, even, were under fire in the thickest of the fight for six hours, and came out as free from rips and rents as they were when they went in. Not all of them, though., [*sic*] We recollect a circumstance in point. We had just finished executing one of those inscrutable figures of the plain quadrille; we were feeling unusually comfortable, because we had gone through the performance as well as anybody could have done it, except that we had wandered a little toward the last; in fact, we had wandered out of our own and into somebody else's set—but that was a matter of small consequence, as the new locality was as good as the old one, and we were used to that sort of thing anyhow. We were feeling comfortable, and we had assumed an attitude—we have a sort of talent for posturing—a pensive attitude, copied from the Colossus of Rhodes—when the ladies were ordered to the centre. Two of them got there, and the other two moved off gallantly, but they failed to make the connection. They

suddenly broached to under full headway, and there was a sound of parting canvas. Their dresses were anchored under our boots, you know. It was unfortunate, but it could not be helped. Those two beautiful pink dresses let go amidships, and remained in a ripped and damaged condition to the end of the ball. We did not apologize, because our presence of mind happened to be absent at the very moment that we had the greatest need of it. But we beg permission to do so now.

An excellent supper was served in the large dining-room of the new What Cheer House on B street. We missed it there, somewhat. We were not accompanied by a lady, and consequently we were not eligible to a seat at the first table. We found out all about that at the Gold Hill ball, and we had intended to be all prepared for this one. We engaged a good many young ladies last Tuesday to go with us, thinking that out of the lot we should certainly be able to secure one, at the appointed time, but they all seemed to have got a little angry about something—nobody knows what, for the ways of women are past finding out. They told us we had better go and invite a thousand girls to go to the ball. A thousand. Why, it was absurd. We had no use for a thousand girls. A thou— but those girls were as crazy as loons. In every instance, after they had uttered that pointless suggestion, they marched magnificently out of their parlors—and if you will believe us, not one of them ever recollected to come back again. Why, it was the most unaccountable circumstance we ever heard of. We never enjoyed so much solitude in so many different places, in one evening, before. But patience has its limts; we finally got tired of that arrangement—and at the risk of offending some of those girls, we stalked off to the Sanitary Ball alone—without a virgin, out of that whole litter. We may have done wrong—we probably did do wrong to disappoint those fellows in that kind of style—but how could we help it? We couldn't stand the temperature of those parlors more than an hour at a time: it was cold enough to freeze out the heaviest stockholder on the Gould & Curry's books.

However, as we remarked before, everybody spoke highly of the supper, and we believe they meant what they said. We are unable to say anything in the matter from personal knowledge, except that the tables were arranged with excellent taste, and more than abundantly supplied, and everything looked very beautiful, and very inviting, also; but then we had absorbed so much cold weather in those parlors, and had had so much trouble with those girls, that we had no appetite left. We only eat [*sic*] a boiled ham and some pies, and went back to the ball room. There were some very handsome cakes on the tables, manufactured by Mr. Slade, and decorated with patriotic mottoes, done in fancy icing. All those who were happy that evening, agree that the supper was superb.

After supper the dancing was jolly. They kept it up till four in the morning, and the guests enjoyed themselves excessively. All the dances were performed, and the bill of fare wound up with a new style of plain quadrille called a medley,

which involved the whole list. It involved us also. But we got out again—and we staid out, with great sagacity. But speaking of plain quadrilles reminds us of another new one—the Virginia reel. We found it a very easy matter to dance it, as long as we had thirty or forty lookers-on to prompt us. The dancers are formed in two long ranks, facing each other, and the battle opens with some light skirmishing between the pickets, which is gradually resolved into a general engagement along the whole line; after that, you have nothing to do but stand by and grab every lady that drifts within reach of you, and swing her. It is very entertaining, and elaborately scientific also; but we observed that with a partner who had danced it before, we were able to perform it rather better than the balance of the guests.

Altogether, the Sanitary ball [*sic*] was a remarkably pleasant party, and we are glad that such was the case—for it is a very uncomfortable task to be obliged to say harsh things about entertainments of this kind. At the present writing we cannot say what the net proceeds of the ball will amount to, but they will doubtless reach quite a respectable figure—say $400.

"Localizing" on other subjects follows; then:

The Music.—Millington & McCluskey's Band furnished the music for the Sanitary Ball on Thursday night, and also for the Odd Fellows' Ball the other evening in Gold Hill, and the excellence of the article was ouly [*sic*] equalled by the industry and perseverance of the performers. We consider that the man who can fiddle all through one of those Virginia Reels without losing his grip, may be depended upon in any kind of musical emergency.[6]

A year passed, new issues arose, and on May 23, 1864, Mark Twain wrote from Virginia City to Mrs. W. K. Cutler of Carson—"Madam, I address a lady in every sense of the term"—in which he thanks her for her lenient attitude with respect to "that unfortunate item of mine about the Sanitary Funds accruing from the ball . . ."[7] Certain ladies in Carson had taken offense at the implications in the "item," and the *Union*, rival of the Virginia City *Enterprise*, had made the most of it, including threatened satisfaction by means of a duel. The matter blew over but it was tiring, nevertheless, and offered Twain a good excuse to move on west,[8] which he did—only to find himself in the midst of a similar group of ladies bent on holding, in their city, a benefit for the Sanitary Commisssion, this time a fair.[9] As reporter for the San Francisco *Daily Morning Call*, on whose staff he then served,[10] the ladies' doings came within his province.

In the first place, the fair drew such crowds "that about the nearest approach to walking that people could accomplish was to drift about in solid masses."[11] Two other reports, one in the *Call* for September 7, 1864

(editorial page), and the second on the following day (p. 1, col. 3), may appear to the reader to possess certain traits suggestive of what William Dean Howells called Twain's "ironic and debonair" way of preaching.[12]

After describing the lady-managers' scheme to raise funds for the Sanitary Commission by charging for ballots, the "pastor" receiving the most votes in that particular competition to get a set of fine books, the *Call* of the seventh said:

> ... Pay your poll-tax and deposit your ballot. It has occurred to us just at this moment, that if any of the barefooted Disciples, travelling according to their custom "without purse or scrip," should return to Earth, and happen into the Fair, they couldn't vote, could they? Consequently, it is risky, charging for votes, isn't it? Manifestly."

The second item, printed the morning of the eighth, complimented the ladies on their success:

> ... They have done their work perseveringly and well, and with astonishing unanimity and freedom from dissension, considering that the conservative male element was recklessly debarred from their counsels. In our private capacity we had a hankering to suggest things occasionally, but we did not consider it safe to do so, being so much in the minority. ...

The above excerpts are offered as possible Twainiana, though, to do so, runs counter to Twain's own dictum: "Never say 'We learn' so-and-so, or 'It is reported' ... say, 'It *is* so-and-so. ... Unassailable certainty is the thing that gives a newspaper the firmest and most valuable reputation."[13]

NOTES

1. Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise*, Jan. 10, 1863, p. 2, col. 4. The letter is dated, "Jacob's Springs, Reese River, Lander Co., January 6, 1862 [*sic*]."

2. Dan De Quille (William Wright), "Reporting with Mark Twain," *The Californian*, IV (July 1893), 170-78. The ambiguity is clarified when it is borne in mind that Twain came to the Comstock in Sept. 1862 to become city editor for the *Enterprise*. Thus, De Quille must have "concluded" to *begin* the trip in Dec. 1862. Twain's arrival prior to that month, Swamp's letter, an announcement in the Virginia City *Bulletin* of Aug. 25, 1863, that De Quille had "left New York on the 3d inst. ...," and the announcement of his arrival in Virginia City on Sept. 5, 1863 (*Bulletin*, Sept. 5, 1863, p. 2, col. 2) which is "about nine months" after Swamp saw him in the stagecoach, clearly show De Quille's intent.

3. Washoe *Times*, Jan. 10, 1863, p. 3, col. 1 (Nevada State Hist. Soc.).

4. George R. Brown, ed., *Reminiscences of Senator William M. Stewart* (New York, 1908), pp. 220-21. Most investigators of Twain in Nevada quote Stewart, but add no concrete evidence of their own. Twain could also "make fun" of the senator himself; viz., in connection with some mining stock which enjoyed a phenominal rise in price. (*Roughing It* [Hillcrest edition], II, 35.)

5. *Roughing it, op. cit.*, II, 41.

6. Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise, op. cit.*, p. 3, col. 1.

7. *Mark Twain's Letters; Arranged with Comment by Albert Bigelow Paine* (New York & London: Harper & Bros., 1917), I, 97-98. Paine says that as no copy of that issue of the *Enterprise* is available, "we cannot judge of the quality of the humor that stirred up the trouble."

8. *Loc. cit.*

9. "Ladies' Christian Commission" and "Sanitary Commission" were at times used interchangeably in the San Francisco press-reports about the fair. *Cf.* Dorothy H. Huggins, "Women in War-Time, San Francisco, 1864," *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, XXIV (Sept. 1945), 261-66.

10. San Francisco *Call*, Aug. 23, 1864, p. 1, col. 3, where his name appears as "Mr. Mark Twain," in connection with a merry account, "Inexplicable News from San José," describing his fellow-newsmen's predilection for spirits (himself excepted). See also San Francisco *Directory*, 1864-65, where he is listed as "reporter, Morning Call."

11. *Call*, Aug. 28, 1864, p. 1, col. 1.

12. San Francisco *Chronicle*, Apr. 22, 1910, among comments quoted at the time of Twain's death the day before. See also review of address by Dixon Wecter before the Calif. Hist. Soc. in the Society's *Quarterly*, XXIX (March 1950), pp. 77-80.

13. *Roughing It*, II, 19.

The Last Will and Testament of Stephen J. Field

By John C. Hogan and Ewald W. Schnitzer

FOREWORD. Last wills and testaments often provide the student of history with glimpses into the character and personal affairs of prominent citizens which are not easily duplicated by other sources of information. This is certainly true of the will of Supreme Court Justice Stephen Johnson Field, which is presented on the following pages. Through the names of beneficiaries, witnesses, and other persons mentioned, the period and the localities in which he lived are recalled and receive fresh color and interest. By way of introduction, a brief sketch of Justice Field's life, notes on the beneficiaries, etc., precede the transcript of the will.

On June 2, 1859, in Grace Church, San Francisco, the Rt. Rev. Bishop William I. Kip officiating, Sue Virginia Swearingen was married to Stephen J. Field.[1] Beyond the statement then appearing in the daily press that Miss Swearingen was the daughter of Isabella Virginia Swearingen and "the late Richard S. Swearingen of St. Louis, Mo.," little is known of her previous 20 years compared to the information readily available in official papers, family records, etc., on the groom's almost 43 years.

Stephen J. Field (second of that name, the first having died in infancy) was born on November 4, 1816, in Haddam, Conn., son of David Dudley (1781-1867) and Submit Dickinson (1782-1861) Field.[2] In addition to Stephen J., 5 of the couple's 8 sons attained to prominence:

David Dudley Field, Jr. (1805-1894), jurist and specialist in the codification of common-law procedures;

Matthew Dickinson Field (1811-79), civil engineer, expert in bridge construction;

Jonathan Edwards Field (1813-68), lawyer, member and some-time president of the Massachusetts state senate;

Cyrus West Field (1819-92), capitalist, projector of the first Atlantic cable, New York Elevated Railroad, etc.;

Henry Martyn Field (1822-1907), Presbyterian clergyman, editor of the *Evangelist*, New York, and author of widely-read books of travel.

To further their son Stephen's education in the classics, his parents arranged, in December 1829, to have him accompany his newly-wed sister Emilia Ann—9 years his senior—and her husband, the Rev. Josiah Brewer, to Smyrna, Asia Minor.[3] Back again in the United States after his Smyrna sojourn and a visit in Athens, Stephen entered Williams College in the fall of 1833, and in 1837 was graduated at the head of his class. Then came study of the law in New York in the office of his eldest brother David Dudley Field, Jr., and admittance to partnership with him. But, in 1848, Europe seemed again to offer attractions to the younger man, especially as his sister Mary, youngest of the family, and Cyrus W. Field and wife were to be his traveling companions. While there, an unforeseen attraction intervened—one powerful enough to reverse entirely Stephen's preoccupation with the old world and send him back to the new, stopping only long enough on the Atlantic side of the continent to secure passage to the gold fields of the west. On December 28, 1849, he landed in San Francisco.

Beginning in January 1851, Field served as a member of the first state legislature, and took a decisive part in the organization of legal procedure, criminal and civil, for the new commonwealth.[4] He practiced law in Marysville (part of the time and quite contentedly, he says,[5] in "a small office and slept in its loft . . . shared with three others") until, in the late 1850's, he was elected a justice of the California supreme court. He was serving in this capacity at the time of his wedding to Miss Sue Swearingen in June 1859. Some 3 months afterwards, when David S. Terry resigned as chief justice preparatory to his duel with David C. Broderick, Field was elevated to the vacated post.

But another change in Field's carreer—or an intensification of it—was in the making. After California had taken her place on the side of the Union in the presidential election of November 6, 1860, and had followed through with strong endorsement of President Lincoln in the legislature, enlistment in the armed forces, etc., the authorities at Washington showed their increased confidence in the once-Democratic state by passing the Pacific R. R. act of 1862, characterized by one writer as "a kind of pledge of economic statehood."[6] This was followed by another integrating gesture when, "by unanimous consent" on February 20th of the next year, U. S. Senator Milton S. Latham from California obtained leave "to introduce a bill (S. No. 548) to provide circuit courts

for the districts of California and Oregon and for other purposes."[7] As signed by President Lincoln on March 3, 1863, it contained, among the "other purposes," the following:

> . . . the supreme court of the United States shall hereafter consist of a chief justice and nine associate justices, any six of whom shall constitute a quorum; and for this purpose there shall be appointed one additional associate justice of said court, with the like powers . . . oaths . . . duties . . . salary as the other associate justices. The districts of California and Oregon shall constitute the tenth circuit, and other circuits shall remain as now constituted.[8]

Assigned to the new circuit by the president, 3 days later, was Stephen J. Field, a Democrat but a stern supporter of the Union, whose experience in matters related to California land and mines had been accumulating over the past 13 years.[9]

Upon Nevada's attaining to statehood in 1864, she was included in the new supreme court justice's circuit. This meant that Field was now required to attend the court's sessions in Washington, D. C., in winter, and to hold the circuit courts in his circuit in summer.[10] From then, on, the mileage he had already piled up while traveling for pleasure and adventure rose to an exceedingly high figure, for, until the overland railroad was completed in May 1869, he had to go back and forth by way of the Isthmus of Panama. Although an act of congress in the same year (1869) reduced the required attendance in his circuit to one term in 2 years (and in 1871 repealed the allowance of $1000 for traveling expenses, provided in the initial act creating the 10th supreme court justice), Field attended all the terms in his circuit.[11]

The story of his 34 years as U. S. supreme court justice and of the mental and physical vigor expended in preparing some 600 opinions while a member of that court, can be found in official reports, in biographies, treatises, and in professional journals.[12] Also to be found there are accounts of the animosities of which he was the victim. The present paper, setting forth his last will and testament, is concerned with personal, family matters. He is bequeathing a dwelling, paintings, miniature portraits, encyclopedias, a gold watch, a mechanical dictionary. The testator does not leave sums to institutions for large-scale projects, with elaborate analyses of his motives in so doing. No where is the language, though clear and dignified, other than informal. ". . . I shall be glad . . .," he says. He merely expresses the wish that such and such a thing be done.

THE HEIRS

First Section. From information contained in San Francisco *Direc-*

tories subsequent to 1854, the reader can picture to himself the streets Stephen J. Field frequented on his way to and from the successive houses in which lived his friends, the widow Isabella V. Swearingen and her four "attractive" daughters: Sue Virginia, afterwards Mrs. Stephen J. Field; Belle, later married to Andrew B. McCreery; Mary or Mollie, who became Mrs. George E. Whitney; and Sarah, said to have been married rather late in life to Gen. J. Condit-Smith, a widower with several children, and after his death to have "returned" to Washington, D. C., with her stepdaughters.[13]

Beginning in 1854, Mrs. Swearingen is listed as residing on the north side of Bush Street between Kearny and Dupont; in 1858 and '59, she is at 120 Bush; in 1860, "boarding" s. side Pine, between Dupont and Stockton; and in 1861 and '62, at 19 Ellis Street. Then, in 1863-64, their street number becomes 20 Ellis, between Stockton and Powell—the same as that given for Stephen J. Field, who at that date begins to be listed in the San Francisco *Directories* (previously, 1861-62, he had appeared in the Sacramento *Directory* as residing at the St. George Hotel). The Fields and Swearingens have now joined forces, further proof—along with his old Marysville loft "shared with three others"[14]—that the justice was fundamentally gregarious, and that his pleasure in being with his wife's relatives was genuine. Later (1868) Field's residence is given as SW cor. Eddy and Franklin; finally, from 1870 on, it appears as Washington, D. C. The date of Mrs. Swearingen's death has not been ascertained.

Another source of information on Mrs. Stephen J. Field is in the account of her husband's career published in the San Francisco *Chronicle* on April 10, 1899 (pp. 1-2), following his death in Washington the day before. She is there said to have been "a daughter of his California landlady"; according to the *Chronicle*, Mrs. Field, many years the justice's junior, had "ripened into one of the most patrician matrons of the Capitol City, and until one or two recent accessions she was called the handsomest of the Supreme Court ladies." At Justice Field's bedside at the time of his death were, the report said, his wife and her sister Mrs. J. C[ondit] Smith; Justice David J. Brewer, his nephew; "Mrs. Edgerton of California" [probably the wife of Henry Edgerton, orator and lawyer, and one of the framers of the California constitution of 1879[15]]; "Mr. Lawton," his private secretary; the Rev. Edward M. Mott, rector of the Church of the Advent; and the family servants. The Stephen J. Fields had no children.

Less than two and a half years passed, and on August 24, 1901, a double-column headline on page 1 of the Oakland *Tribune* told its readers: Mrs. Sue Field Has Passed Away. She had been ill for several weeks and had died that morning at the home of her sister, Mrs. George E. Whitney, in Oakland. Surviving her, besides Mrs. Whitney, were her other sisters Mrs. J. Condit-Smith and Mrs. Andrew B. McCreery.* On August 27th, according to the *Tribune* of that date, her remains were taken by ferry across the bay to Grace Episcopal Church in San Francisco, where, in the afternoon, the Rev. Dr. Robert C. Foute read the burial service and a quartet sang. Among the honorary pall-bearers were William W. Morrow, judge of the U. S. circuit court; Ralph C. Harrison, associate-justice of the California supreme court; E. S. Pillsbury; Thomas B. Bishop; and Homer King. The flowers, sent by socially-prominent persons, were reported as having consisted in part of Flora Hill carnations, tied with royal purple ribbon, from Mrs. Isaac Requa; shell pinks from Mrs. Frank McLoughlin; Mrs. Orestes Pierce sent purple asters; and Mrs. S. B. McKee a spray of bouvardia. The body was re-conveyed to Oakland and was deposited in Mountain View Cemetery pending removal to Washington, D. C.

Second Section. Mrs. William (Emilia Brewer Field) Ashburner, born June 19, 1836, at Ann Arbor, Michigan—to whom the testator left portraits[16] of his father and mother—was the eldest of five children born to Justice Field's brother, Jonathan Edwards Field, Sr., and his first wife Mary Ann Stuart Field.[17] On October 4, 1856, Emilia was married to William Ashburner (*b.* 1831), who had studied at the École des Mines in Paris and elsewhere. He came west in 1860 as a member of Josiah D. Whitney's expedition for the geological survey of California; served, 1874-76, as professor of mining at the University of California, and as regent of the university from 1880 until his death in 1887.[18] The Ashburners in their home at 1014 Pine Street took part in the social life of San Francisco, and played host as well to visiting members of the Field family, a tradition continued by Mrs. Ashburner (called "one of the loveliest-looking women")[19] after her husband's death. In the San Francisco earthquake and fire of 1906, the Pine Street house was destroyed—the portraits, mentioned in the will, included. But after a year spent in Berkeley with her niece, Mrs. Samuel B. Christy and her family, Mrs. Ashburner returned to San Francisco and took up her residence at 3214

*Mrs. Field was said by the San Francisco *Chronicle* of Aug. 25 to have been a native of Louisville, Ky.

Jackson Street,[20] where she lived until her death on September 3, 1930, at the age of 94.

Third Section. David Josiah Brewer (*b.* June 20, 1837, Smyrna, Asia Minor; *d.* Washington, D. C., March 28, 1910) was the 4th of 7 children born to Justice Field's eldest sister, Emilia Ann, and her husband the Rev. Josiah Brewer (1796-1872).[21] David J. Brewer was graduated from Yale College in 1856, studied law at the Albany Law School and in the office of his uncle David Dudley Field, Jr., until, in the fall of 1858, he went to Kansas and began the practice of law in Leavenworth, Kan. His success was marked, and in 1870 he was elected to the supreme court of Kansas, being re-elected in 1876. Appointment by President Benjamin Harrison to the U. S. supreme court followed in 1889, with the result that both he and his uncle, Stephen J. Field, were members of the court simultaneously, until the latter's resignation in 1897. Brewer served on the commission to settle the Venezuela-British Guiana boundary dispute of 1896-99. Among his writings is *The Mission of the United States in the Cause of Peace* (1909).[22]

Fourth Section. Stephen Field Christy (*b.* Feb. 21, 1890; *d.* Sept. 9, 1908), to whom was willed the *Encyclopedia Britannica* and the gold watch, was the son of Samuel Benedict and Sarah Adele Field Christy. Mrs. Christy (*b.* Feb. 23, 1862, Stockbridge, Mass.) was the daughter of Jonathan Edwards Field, Jr., and his wife Henrietta Goodrich.[23] Her husband, Samuel B. Christy (*b.* San Francisco, Aug. 8, 1853; *d.* Berkeley, Calif., Nov. 30, 1914) was graduated from the University of California in 1874; he became instructor in chemistry, 1875-79; instructor in mining and metallurgy, 1879-85, and was thereafter a professor in the same department.[24] The Christys occupied the same Piedmont Avenue, Berkeley, house for over 40 years or until the university's expansion-plans necessitated a move to Claremont, Oakland, in 1923.

The legatee, Stephen Field Christy, had 2 sisters. Emilia Ashburner Christy (*b.* Berkeley, Oct. 26, 1883; *d.* 1952) was the wife of Joseph Ballantine, U. S. diplomatic service.[25] The second sister, Elizabeth Field Christy (*b.* Berkeley, June 25, 1891), with whom her mother, Mrs. Adele Field Christy (now 95), makes her home, lives in Berkeley with her husband, Mark M. Hall, a special-feature writer.

Fifth Section. Stephen D. Field (*b.* Jan. 31, 1846; married in San Francisco 1871 to Celestine Butters; *d.* May 18, 1913) was the 4th child of Jonathan Edwards Field, Sr., and his first wife Mary Ann Stuart, and

was thus a younger brother of Mrs. William Ashburner.[26] Stephen D. Field was an inventor, specializing on electric devices. He spent the years 1862-79 in California in the electric business, rising to secretary and engineer for the Electrical Construction and Maintenance Co. of San Francisco.[27] On his return to New York in 1879 he took up the application of new techniques to telegraphic communication. His son, David Dudley Field* (*b.* San Francisco, 1875; M. I. T. graduate 1897), to whom Justice Field left an encyclopedia and 2 dictionaries, became associated with the New York Telephone Co.[28]

Sixth Section. The justice's "faithful messenger, William Joice," mentioned here, was the "colored valet of many years," said by one writer to have accompanied Justice Field to San Francisco in the spring of 1895 and to have assisted her and Mrs. Ashburner in reaching Field's suite at the Palace Hotel through "throngs of people crowding the halls on his floor—flowers—fruits—packages of all sorts. . . ."[29]

Seventh Section. Two dates stand out in connection with Charlotte Anita Whitney, to whom, according to Justice Field's will, a third of his property was to go, direct, upon the death of his wife:

The first date is the morning of February 4, 1890. In the vast auditorium of the Metropolitan Opera House in New York, literary exercises are being held in commemoration of the 100th anniversary of the U. S. supreme court. Grover Cleveland—between terms as president—is in the chair. On the platform on his right is Chief Justice Melville W. Fuller, and, among the associate justices, are John Marshall Harlan, Horace Gray, and Justice Field's nephew Justice David Josiah Brewer. Speaking for the court on this great occasion is Justice Stephen J. Field. He is outlining the court's function in the past and is saying that it "may hope to still further strengthen the hearts of all in love, admiration and reverence for the Constitution of the United States—the noblest inheritance ever possessed by a free people."[30]

The second date is May 16, 1927. It is about 30 years since Justice Field made his will, with its plain indication of confidence in the discretion of his niece Charlotte Anita. The "October 1926" term of the U. S. supreme court is in progress and an appeal is being heard from a judgment of the superior court of Alameda County to the effect that Charlotte Anita Whitney had been guilty of violation of the provisions of

*The third of that name, viz., Justice Field's father; his eldest brother (see paragraph "first" of the will); and his grand-nephew, as here.

the criminal syndicalism act—a judgment which, on April 25, 1922,* had been affirmed by the district court of appeal, 1st appellate district, div. 1, of California, in the following words:

> That this defendant did not realize that she was giving herself over to forms and expressions of disloyalty and was . . . lending her presence . . . and position as a woman of refinement and culture to an organization whose purposes and sympathies savored of treason, is not only past belief but is a matter with which this court can have no concern, since it is one of the conclusive presumptions of our law that a guilty intent is presumed from the deliberate commission of an unlawful act.[31]

It is on the second date, cited above, that the U. S. supreme court is now expressing its concurrence with this judgment:

> I am unable to assent to the suggestion in the opinion of the Court that assembling with a political party, formed to advocate the desirability of a proletarian revolution by mass action at some date necessarily far in the future, is not a right within the protection of the Fourteenth Amendment. In the present case, however, there was other testimony which tended to establish the existence of a conspiracy, on the part of members of the International Workers of the World, to commit present serious crimes; and likewise to show that such a conspiracy would be furthered by the activity of the society of which Miss Whitney was a member. Under these circumstances the judgment of the state court cannot be disturbed.[32]

At the time of her death on February 4, 1955, at the age of 87, the news-items[33] dwelt on her education (a graduate of Wellesley College); on the prominence of her family (daughter of former State Senator George E. Whitney; and niece of Justice Field); on her participation in charitable and social work in the San Francisco Bay Area, especially in Oakland after the 1906 earthquake and fire. On the reverse side were recalled her record as a radical sympathizer in World War I and her subsequent California chairmanship of the Communist party, as well as the fact that she ran unsuccessfully for U. S. senator on the Communist ticket in 1928.

There are 3 witnesses to the will, only one of whom has been identified—Irwin Breece Linton. Linton was a lawyer, born in Norristown, Pennsylvania, in 1852. After finishing his preparatory education in Washington, D. C., he continued his studies there at Columbian (now George Washington University) Law School. Business enterprises and the practice of law kept him in the capital, where he became a director of the American National Bank.[34]

*Attorneys for Miss Whitney at that time were Nathan C. Coghlan, John Francis Neylan, J. E. Pemberton, and William F. Herron.

Even after Stephen J. Field went to Washington to serve on the U. S. supreme court, he always looked upon San Francisco as his home. The exordium of his last will and testament recites this fact. At the time of his death, April 9, 1899, he owned a house and lot in Washington and approximately $65,000 in cash, stocks, bonds, and other personal property. The whole estate, both real and personal, is disposed of by the will, which is dated May 25, 1897.

Field is meticulous in his description of the real property that was to pass to his wife. The residence was located at First and "A" streets, Northeast, Washington, in an historic building formerly known as the "Old Capitol Prison," which had been fitted out for the use of congress after the British burned the capitol in 1812, and, during the Civil War, had been used as a military prison. The main building was later divided into 3 separate residences; sometime in 1870-71 Justice Field moved into the south residence. His oldest brother, David Dudley Field, held the legal title until 1880 when it passed by deed, showing a consideration of $25,000, to Justice Field. Upon her return to Washington with her stepdaughters, Sarah Swearingen Condit-Smith, Mrs. Field's sister, acquired an apartment in the old Capitol Building next to the Fields.

The will is entirely handwritten, but not in the hand of Justice Field—the writing is that of one of the witnesses, Irwin B. Linton. The document consists of three sheets of paper (7¼" by 9"), and writing appears on both sides of each sheet. Each page bears a number in ink at the top, and a corresponding number, preceded by the abbreviation "St", appears in pencil in the margin at the bottom of the page. The body of the will runs from p. 1 to p. 5 and is followed immediately by Field's signature. A small square, representing a seal, is pasted opposite the signature. Beneath the signature and with no intervening space begins the attestation clause which is signed by three witnesses: Irwin B. Linton, Augusta L. Wilke, and Arthur A. Thomas, all of Washington, D. C.

There are a number of pencil marks on the will, probably added after Field's death: *i.e.*, the date "June 22 '99" is written before the name of the first attesting witness and is repeated by ditto marks before the names of the others; there is also a pencil check-mark before the name of each of the witnesses; and one appears likewise in the body of the will in the second line of the fifth clause before the name David Dudley Field; an "X" pencil mark has been placed in the margin of page 2, opposite Justice Field's request that the portraits of his father and mother be devised by Mrs. Ashburner to some descendant of his father bearing the

name Field. There is a stamp in the margin of the first page to the effect that the will was filed with the registrar of wills in Washington on April 27, 1899.

The following is a true copy of the Last Will and Testament of Supreme Court Justice Stephen J. Field:

The Last Will and Testament of Justice Field

In the name of God, amen. I, Stephen J. Field, of San Francisco, State of California, but residing in Washington City, District of Columbia, being of sound mind and memory but aware of the uncertainty of life, do make, publish, and declare this my last will and testament, hereby revoking all other wills by me heretofore made.

First. I give, devise, and bequeath to my dearly beloved wife, Sue Virginia Field, the home and lot owned by me on Capitol Hill in the said City of Washington, in which I have resided for many years past, being the property described in a deed to me from my brother David Dudley Field, dated the twentieth day of August A.D. 1880, and recorded the thirtieth day of June A.D. 1881, in Liber 975, one of the Land Records of said city, and also all the furniture, paintings (except the portrait of my father by Carpenter, and the miniatures of my mother and my sister by Sumner, hereinafter mentioned), pictures, silverware, and other personal property in the said house at the time of my death, except certain books hereinafter mentioned, and except, also, my gold watch.

Second. I give and bequeath to my niece, Emilia F. Ashburner, now residing in the City of San Francisco, California, the portrait of my father, painted by Carpenter, now in my house at Washington, the miniature portrait of my mother, painted by Sumner, and the crayon portrait of my father's head, executed by Mrs. Fassett, which miniature and

crayon are now in my house at Washington. I should be glad if Mrs. Ashburner, in the disposition of her effects by will, would provide that the portrait of my father, by Carpenter, and the crayon head of my father by Mrs. Fassett and the miniature portrait of my mother by Sumner should be given to some descendent of my father who bears the name of Field. I give no direction to the action of Mrs. Ashburner on the subject, but merely express the wish that such disposition might be made.

THIRD. I give and bequeath to my nephew, David J. Brewer, Associate Justice of the Supreme Court of the United States, the miniature portrait of my sister Emilia, his mother, painted by the artist Sumner, which is now in my house at Washington.

FOURTH. I give and bequeath to my grand-nephew Stephen Field Christy, son of Samuel B. Christy, of the University of California, the Encyclopedia Britannica now in my library at Washington, and also my gold watch.

FIFTH. I give and bequeath to my grand-nephew David Dudley Field, son of my nephew Stephen D. Field, the American Cyclopedia, revised edition 1873, in sixteen volumes, with index in one volume, the American Mechanical Dictionary in three volumes, and the Century Dictionary in six volumes, all of which are now in my library at Washington.

SIXTH. I give and bequeath to my faithful messenger, William Joice, in recognition of his attention and services rendered to me during the last quarter of a century, the sum of five hundred dollars.

SEVENTH. I give, devise, and bequeath all the rest and residue of my estate, real and personal, of which I may die possessed, to my beloved wife Sue Virginia Field.

In case my said wife should die before myself, it is my will and wish that all the real and personal property above devised and bequeathed to her shall be given, devised, and distributed as follows: Two-thirds thereof to my sister-in-law Mrs. Sarah S. Condit-Smith for and during her natural life and after her death to her sister Mrs. Mary Lewis Whitney and her heirs; the remaining one-third of my said property, real and personal, to my niece Charlotte Anita Whitney and her heirs.

And I hereby designate and appoint my beloved wife Sue Virginia Field and my sister-in-law Sarah S. Condit-Smith to be the executrices of this my last will and testament, and request that they be not required to give bond as such.

In witness whereof I hereunto set my hand and seal at the City of Washington, District of Columbia, this twenty-fifth day of May, A.D. one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven.

STEPHEN J. FIELD (Signed and Sealed)

Signed, sealed, published, and declared by the testator, Stephen J. Field, to be his last will and testament in our presence and the presence of each other, who, at his request and in his presence and in the presence of each other, hereunto set our hands as witnesses thereto this twenty-fifth day of May A.D. one thousand eight hundred and ninety-seven.

IRWIN B. LINTON, Washington City, D.C. (Signed)
AUGUSTA L. WILKE, Washington, D. C. (Signed)
ARTHUR A. THOMAS " " (Signed)

NOTES

1. Neville Scrapbook (Calif. Hist. Soc. Library), 4:45.

2. *Record of the Life of David Dudley Field, His Ancestors and Descendants*, comp. and ed. by Emilia R. Field (Denver: privately printed, 1931) [hereafter cited as *Record . . .*], p. 133. We are indebted to Mrs. Mark M. (Elizabeth Field

Christy) Hall for the privilege of consulting her copy of this valuable compilation.

3. *Ibid.*, pp. 57-58.

4. Oscar T. Shuck, ed., *History of Bench and Bar of California* (Los Angeles, 1901), pp. 421-31. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886-90), VII, 226-27, says, in discussing the work of Stephen J. Field in California: "The act of 1851 defining the jurisdiction and powers of every judicial officer in the state was the production of Field, then a young practitioner. . . ." At the centennial celebration in honor of the U. S. supreme court in 1890 (134 *U. S. Reports*, app., p. 729), Field, as speaker of the day, referred to his having come west, "dreaming that I might perhaps in some way aid in laying the foundations of that great Commonwealth which every one saw was to arise on the Pacific. . . ." Twenty years before, in recognition of what he had accomplished, the regents of the Univ. of Calif. appointed Stephen J. Field to be honorary professor of law; they hoped to establish a law department, and had had that thought in mind when they made the appointment, but funds were lacking at that time. William Carey Jones, *Illustrated History of the Univ. of Calif.* (San Francisco, 1895), p. 245-46.

5. Stephen J. Field, *Personal Reminiscences of Early Days in California* (privately printed in 1878, and republished in 1893 by the Hon. George Gorham), p. 103.

6. Earl Pomeroy, "California, 1846-1860: Politics of a Representative Frontier State," *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, XXXII (Dec. 1953), 300.

7. *Congressional Globe*, Feb. 21, 1863, n. s., No. 71 (37th Cong., 3d sess.), bill S. No. 548, pp. 1121, 1300-01, 1454, 1499 (signed by the president).

8. *Statutes at Large . . . of the U. S. of Am.*, XII (Boston, 1863), pp. 794-95. For present-day set-up, see *U. S. Code* (1952), III, p. 4097 (sec. 41), p. 4098 (sec. 42 and 44), esp. p. 4104 (sec. 84); also *U. S. Govt. Organization Manual* (1956-57), pp. 48-49.

9. Bancroft, note 4 above.

10. *Some Account of the Work of Stephen J. Field . . .*, comp. by Chauncey F. Black and Samuel B. Smith, with introd. sketch by John N. Pomeroy of Hastings Law Dept., Univ. of Calif. (New York, 1881), pp. 39-40.

11. *Loc. cit.*

12. In addition to Black and Smith (note 10 above), and Shuck (note 4 above), see Henry M. Field, *Record of the Family of the Late Rev. David Field, D.D.* ([New York]: privately printed, 1880), and Frederick C. Pierce, *Field Genealogy* (Chicago, 1901); also Carl Brent Swisher, *Stephen J. Field, Craftsman of the Law* (Washington, D. C., 1930), and *Dict. Am. Biog.* (1943), VI, article on Stephen J. Field by Edward S. Corwin.

13. Swisher, *op. cit.*, p. 437.

14. Stephen J. Field, note 5 above, p. 103.

15. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VII, 405 (note).

16. Francis Bicknell Carpenter (1830-1900) was born in Homer, N. Y. At the

Acad. of Design in N. Y., of which he was a member, he was known as a "self-taught artist." Among his subjects were many notable men of letters and 4 presidents of the U. S., including Lincoln reading the first draft of the emancipation proclamation to his cabinet. *Dict. Am. Biog.* (1943), III; Mantle Fielding, *Dict. Am. Painters, Sculptors and Engravers* (Phila., [1926]).

Cornelia Fassett (1831-98), portrait and figure painter, and wife of Samuel Fassett, Chicago photographer, was born in Owasco, N. Y. She studied in Paris and in Rome; painted in Chicago, and became a member of the Chicago Acad. of Design. In 1875 she moved to Washington, D.C., where her studio entertainment was a feature of its social life. Among the presidents painted by Mrs. Fassett, were Grant, Hayes, and Garfield. Her "The Florida Case before the Electoral Commission," best known of her work, was painted from life-sittings in the supreme courtroom. *Dict. Am. Biog.* (1943), VI.

Information on Sumner appears to be limited to mention of only one of that surname, viz., L. W. Y. Sumner, an American, born (no date given) in Middletown, Conn.; last reported address, 1934, Greenwich, Conn., citation being to the *Am. Art An.* of that year. Daniel T. Mallett, *Index of Artists* . . . (N. Y., 1935), p. 426. If "Sumner" had, as a young artist, painted his miniature portrait of Field's mother from the crayon by Lawrence (reproduced in *Record* . . ., facing p. 16); and his portrait of Emilia Ann Field Brewer, from the non-attributed likeness facing p. 58 in the same volume, then L. W. Y. Sumner might have been the artist referred to and have been 25 years of age, or so, in 1897 when the will was made. That would make him about 62 in 1934, when he was in Greenwich, Conn. In the absence of the miniatures themselves, this is, of course, only a surmise, and information on the subject will be most welcome.

17. *Record* . . ., pp. 113-14.

18. Jones, note 4 above, pp. 114-15. In memory of her husband, Mrs. Ashburner gave the clock, formerly in the tower of the so-called Bacon Art and Library Building on the campus, as shown in Jones' history, pp. 207, 309. (William Ashburner served as vice-president of the Calif. Hist. Soc. when it was reorganized in 1886.)

19. *Record* . . ., p. 115. See also listing of Mrs. Ashburner's name in *San Francisco Blue Book and Club Directory*—for example, in 1902 and in 1928.

20. *Record* . . ., pp. 115-16.

21. *Ibid.*, pp. 59, 65-69. Justice Brewer was buried in Leavenworth, Kan.

22. *Dict. Am. Biog.* (1943), III.

23. *Record* . . ., pp. 117-18.

24. Jones, *op. cit.*, pp. 115, 120-21, 335.

25. *Record* . . ., pp. 118-19, 119-20.

26. *Ibid.*, pp. 114, 126-28.

27. San Francisco *Directory*, 1877.

28. *Record* . . ., p. 128.

29. *Ibid.*, pp. 135-36.

30. 134 *U. S. Reports*, app., note 4 above, p. 746.

31. *Reports of Cases Determined in the District Courts of Appeal of the State of California from March 10, 1922, to May 24, 1922* (San Francisco, 1923), p. 452.

32. "Whitney *v.* California," *Cases Adjudged in the Supreme Court of the United States at October Term, 1926* (Washington, D. C., 1928), vol. 274, 357-80, esp. p. 379. The case was argued, Oct. 6, 1925; re-argued, March 18, 1926; decided, May 16, 1927; Justice Edward Terry Sanford delivered the opinion. To refresh the reader's mind, the 14th amendment to the U. S. constitution reads in part: "Sec. 1.... No state shall make or enforce any law which shall abridge the privileges or immunities of citizens of the United States; nor shall any state deprive any person of life, liberty, or property without due process of law; nor deny to any person within its jurisdiction the equal protection of the law."

33. Oakland *Tribune*, Feb. 4, 1955, p. 1, col. 2; p. 2, col. 1. Miss Whitney's conviction in the Alameda County superior court carried with it a prison term of 1-14 years. After her final appeal to the U. S. supreme court had been denied, Gov. C. C. Young granted her a commutation of the prison term.

34. *District of Columbia; Concise Biographies of Its Prominent and Representative Contemporary Citizens* ... (Washington, D. C., 1908), p. 285.

The Long Drive on the Hastings Cut-off

By Henry J. Webb

The Hastings Cut-Off—more popularly known as the Donner Trail because of the sensationally tragic climax to the Donner-Reed emigration—has received attention from many writers.[1] Within the last 25 years some of them, in order to give greater meaning to their accounts, have retraced the old route, using automobiles when they could and resorting to horses and foot-work when the going became too tough for wheels. As a result, probably as much first-hand information has been collected about the road west from Fort Bridger as has been collected about any North American road. Yet there is one part of it that still remains somewhat hazy to all of us—the "fearful long drive," as T. H. Jefferson calls it,[2] from Redlum Spring in the Cedar Mountains to Pilot Peak on the other side of the Great Salt Desert.

This much we know. From October 26, 1845, when Kit Carson began his crossing of the desert, until the last caravan used the cut-off sometime in the 1850's, emigrants took on the brackish water at Redlum Spring, pushed over Hastings Pass (or the more rugged pass 2 miles further south), and headed for the high mountain jutting up like a beacon on the Utah-Nevada border. But how did they go, precisely?—in a bee-line for the mountain, over the saddle in Grayback, and across the dunes, mud-flats, and salt until they hit the cool, sweet water at the base of Pilot Peak? or circuitously, by way of the lower pass some 5 miles south of the saddle and thence across the dunes and desert? Most accounts leave one with the impression that they headed for their destination on as straight a line as the terrain would permit, an impression which is strengthened by the cement and aragonite monument placed

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beside U. S. highway 40 and presumably marking the spot where the old road crossed.

However, after re-examining the diaries, journals, and recollections of the various men who used the trail, and after making a personal reconnaissance of the terrain in question, I believe that there were at least 2 routes over Grayback and 2 roads across the desert.

In most accounts of the earliest treks from the foothills of the Cedar Mountains to Pilot Peak, there is one interesting omission—the climbing of Grayback. Kit Carson does not recall it. John Biglow does not mention it. John Charles Frémont ignores it. James Clyman, moreover, following Frémont's trail in the opposite direction, from west to east, speaks of no hills to climb until reaching the Cedars. It is as if, to these men at least, Grayback did not exist. But it is there, more rugged than one would think when observing it from the highway.

Edwin Bryant, who does refer to Grayback and who made the long drive from east to west in August 1846, describes it properly as follows:

> After crossing the valley, we rose a ridge of low volcanic hills, thickly strewn with sharp fragments of basaltes and vitreous gravel resembling junk-bottle glass. We passed over this ridge through a narrow gap, the walls of which are perpendicular, and composed of the same dark scorrious material as the debris strewn around....
>
> Passing a little further on, we stood on the brow of a step precipice,...[3]

Today, if you visit Grayback on horseback, or, as I did, by jeep,[4] you will find it much as Bryant says. There is a rough and steep access-road through the perpendicular pass he mentions, leading to the brow and the abrupt precipice beyond. It is not an easy road, and one has to shift into low-low gear to get up the last few feet. Further south, however, close where U. S. highway 40 noses its way through the hills, Grayback is less precipitous, meriting little attention after the sharp Cedar Mountain pass behind and the desolate stretches of sand ahead. If one were not looking for Pilot Peak to guide one, as Kit Carson and Frémont assuredly were not, it would be logical to skirt the craggy portions of Grayback. Perhaps this is what the Frémont party did on its way west and the Clyman party on its way east.

After moving out of the Cedar Mountains, Bryant states that he and his companions "found a blind trail which we supposed to be that of Captain Fremont, made last year."[5] This may have been an Indian trail;[6] or, since this trail was visible and invisible by turns, it may have swung further south without Bryant noticing the change in directions. Any-

one who has examined the terrain between Grayback and the Cedar Mountains would have to admit that trails are not easily made here, and once made are not readily discernible. The consistency of this sagebrush and greasewood area is not like that of the mud flats, which still bear the marks of the prairie schooners. At any rate, it would seem that by the time Bryant and his companions had reached the ridge, the trail, whether that of Frémont or of Indians, was no longer obvious—perhaps had disappeared entirely, the way it sometimes does even on the desert; for upon being startled by a mirage of water, Bryant exclaimed: "We must have taken a wrong course, and struck another arm or bay of the Great Salt Lake."[7]

It seems quite possible, therefore, that the first 2 parties which made the long drive went across the Grayback hills by the southern bend; and it is not unimaginable that some later parties, too, wishing to avoid the steeper portion of Grayback, did likewise.

The main trail, itself, went over the saddle, which is like the rear sight of a rifle pointing to Pilot Peak. Heinrich Lienhard, who had been preceded by approximately 52 or 57 wagons in the Harlan-Young company, definitely refers to this route as a "road" and Grayback as "a rocky hill which rose about 40 feet above the plain, and over which the road led."[8] Since he reached this road by going in a "northerly" direction, it seems evident that the route taken by the Harlan-Young company and by Lienhard was the one—or close to the one—used by Donner and most of those who followed. There are 2 possible routes over the Grayback saddle, about a half-mile apart. They begin as one road, striking off from U. S. highway 40 a mile or more west of the cement monument and later divide. But which fork or forks were used by successive parties of emigrants is impossible to say.

For several miles east and west of the Graybacks, the terrain is of such a nature that it will show evidence of prolonged use for a while; then sagebrush and greasewood take over, completely obliterating wheel marks or animal trails. Moreover, telephone crewmen and sheepherders in wagons and jeeps have recently done their share in garbling whatever message the ground might have left. Danny Orr, one of the oldest inhabitants of Grantsville and one of those who accompanied Charles Kelly in the latter's attempt to make the long drive in 1929, feels that the emigrant trail crossed U. S. highway 40 just west of the cement monument, where a wash has been formed. He hypothesizes that, since there is no apparent reason for a wash being at that spot, it was begun

by wagons cutting ruts in the earth. He places no credence in the thought that any of the present rough and rugged trails and access-roads over the saddle bears more than a coincidental relationship to the original route.

On the desert itself, we were presented with another problem. Whatever the road does in the stretches of the eastern dunes and mud flats, it does not head directly for Pilot Peak. Being a mixture of sand, salt, and mud, the dunes are hard—or at least were hard when we drove upon them in early August—and so irregular as to cause very real resistance to the progress of a jeep in four-wheel-drive. In some places, they are but 1 or 2 feet high; in others, 6 or 8 feet. A vehicle climbing upon them has a tendency to follow the little gullies between the humps of sand that collects around the straggly sagebrush. Sometimes 50 feet wide, sometimes as much as 100 yards wide, these dunes are separated from each other by salt and mud flats, as bare of vegetation as a table top and equally as level.

The dunes have retained no impression of the covered wagons which pulled over them—indeed, in many spots they hardly took the mark of our jeep tires—but the flats show the old road running across them as streaks of black on gray or, in certain places, as white on gray. The streaks do not enter and leave the dunes along straight lines; they may come out south of where they entered, or north; occasionally they split, leaving the dunes at points several yards apart and eventually angling together again. Sometimes the road emerges from the least likely spot in a dune, suggesting, not that the emigrants pushed ahead no matter what the condition of the terrain, but that the dunes have shifted in the winds. The prevailing winds must be north and south. That the dunes do not shift very much from east to west or from west to east is indicated by the fact that the flats between them have not been encroached upon.

Eventually the old road leaves all of the dunes behind and stretches out across the main mud-and-salt flat in a bee-line for the southern tip of Silver Island. This is an odd change in direction since no irregularity in the terrain would make the shift necessary.

Perhaps, however, it can be explained. The southern tip of Silver Island is also a peak—at least, when viewed from the desert. On a clear day, Pilot Peak can just be seen from the mouth of Hastings Pass. On a hazy day, when Pilot Peak is hidden behind the blue smoke of the horizon, the tip of Silver Island would look invitingly like the emigrants' destination. Another explanation might be that here is evidence of a

futile attempt to escape the mud by swinging around it. Bryant said that this part of the plain was "so compact, that the feet of our animals, as we hurried them along over it, left but little if any impression. . . ."[9] However we found it very slick and greasy. Just walking upon it left tracks, and our jeeps dug in dangerously. Inhabitants of Grantsville and Wendover report that the softness of the plain varies with the duration and intensity of the winter. If the emigrants were merely attempting to escape this slime, the fact that the road heads for the smaller, clearer jutting on Silver Island could be coincidental. After several miles the road shifts to the northwest again, skirts Crater Island,[10] slips between the northern spur of Silver Island and its main range, and strikes out directly for Pilot Peak across the last 11 miles or so of salt.

But what is even more interesting is that approximately a mile and a half north of the main emigrant road as it leaves the last sand dune, is another road running parallel to it, so faint that it can hardly be seen from a jeep but must be followed carefully on foot. Obviously an old wagon road, it possibly was formed by only one schooner or a very small caravan that missed the main road in the humps and hills of the sand dunes. Running for the little peak on Silver Island, it presumably makes a connection with the main road several miles east of Crater Island—a fact we could not determine, for the mud got too treacherous for our jeeps.

We were not as successful following the road eastward from Pilot Spring as we had wished, for we lost it in the unfriendly and rocky slopes of the Silver Range. Later on, after crisscrossing the rough stone and dune area that cascades down to the flats, we picked it up again, striking out southeast along a line about one-half mile north of Crater Island. The mud, however, stopped us again. In another and drier year, if it is not bombed out of existence by the U. S. air force, which uses the desert as a bombing range, we may be able to find the angle made by the main road and this fainter, ghostlier trail.

NOTES

1. Valuable bibliographies may be found in C. F. McGlashan, *History of the Donner Party* (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 1954), and *West from Fort Bridger*, ed. by J. Roderic Korns (Salt Lake City: Utah State Hist. Soc., 1951).

2. See Part III of T. H. Jefferson's *Map of the Emigrant Road from Independ-*

ence Missouri to St. Francisco California (New York, 1849); reprinted, 1945, by Calif. Hist. Soc., with "Accompaniment," ed. by George R. Stewart. A portion of the map was republished in *Utah Hist. Quart.*, XIX (1951).

3. "The Journal of Edwin Bryant," *Utah Hist. Quart.*, XIX (1951) [hereafter cited as Bryant], 86.

4. Our caravan of two jeeps carried, besides the writer, David E. Miller and C. Gregory Crampton of the Univ. Utah History Dept., Kenneth Eble of the English Dept., Wendell Taylor of Salt Lake City, Wes Taylor of Provo, and David E. Miller, Jr.

5. Bryant, *loc. cit.* The editor notes: "The fact that Bryant comments on this trail at the west foot of the Cedar Mountains may indicate some variance from the Frémont trail in surmounting the range." *Ibid.*, note 61.

6. In his introductory remarks to *West from Fort Bridger* (note 1 above), Korns points out: "No wagon, it is safe to assume, was ever taken anywhere in the Great Salt Lake Country save upon paths already beaten out by the red men," pp. 2-3. However, Mrs. Irene Paden, author of *Prairie Schooner Detours* (New York, 1949), etc., is of the opinion that Bryant should not have mistaken Frémont's horse trail for an Indian footpath.

7. Bryant, p. 87.

8. "The Journal of Heinrich Lienhard," *Utah Hist. Quart.*, XIX (1951), 146.

9. Bryant, p. 89. About 15 miles farther out, however, he says that the plain "gradually became softer, and our mules sometimes sunk to their knees. . . ." *Ibid.*

10. I have used the name "Crater Island," since this is the label which appears on the map accompanying *West from Fort Bridger*. However, ranchers in and around Grantsville and Wendover call it "Floating Island," because heat waves make it appear to be floating on water. These ranchers refer to the northern spur of the Silver Island Mountains as "Crater Island." Their usage is supported by Tooele and Box Elder County records, which were examined this summer by Warren Anderson, Geology Dept., Univ. Utah.

Julius Wangenheim

An Autobiography

(Continued)

On April 18, 1906, occurred the San Francisco earthquake. I felt as so many English people here now (May 1941) feel—that in the hour of one's own people's tragedy, one's place is with them. Melville and I went up to do what we could, and be a part of the tragedy—but lo! of tragedy there was none! I really think it was the most beautiful experience of my life to see how people can rise above material considerations and enter into a spirit of unselfish humanity. Here were people who felt that, while each was financially ruined, everyone else was in the same position. It was a revelation to see the heart of humanity laid bare, and to find it good. It didn't last long, of course; selfishness soon reasserted itself, but it was a joy to know and see the possibilities of the human spirit.

When, on my earlier return from San Francisco in 1903, I renewed my interest in civic work, the mayor said he would be glad to appoint me to either the park or the library board, as I wished. I chose the latter, as it promised more activity. The mayor then appointed George Marston to the park commission, and it was fitting that he should be its first president. My stay on the library board was short, for a new mayor, whom I had opposed, was elected, and it was then customary that any board member who had opposed the successful candidate would tender his resignation. This foolish custom is fortunately no longer observed.

Shortly after this I became chairman of the civic improvement committee of the chamber of commerce, and of another of the same type that met at our house. All these meetings were congenial, constructive, and enthusiastic, and we were nothing if not active. Members besides myself of the chamber of commerce committee were Mr. Marston, Melville Klauber, Dr. Grove, E. E. White, L. A. Wright, and A. Haines.

We concentrated our first work on the waterfront. We weren't ambitious; all we wanted was a fine avenue from Broadway (then D Street) to Date Street. Our town had talked a lot about its twin assets,

bay and climate. The climate was there to feel, but as for the bay, it was literally true that to see it one had to take the Coronado ferry; all the water approaches were occupied by mud flats and squatters' shacks. We consistently opposed the extension of grants that would bar the construction of a harbor drive, and in this we succeeded, though I have always felt that our success was due to the fact that no one wanted the grants badly enough. At any rate, we seemed to have generated an idea, for now at last we have a finer waterfront and lovelier drives than we had ever hoped for.

We also interested ourselves in getting charter provisions to provide funds for the library and for the park. We worked on tree-planting and better roads, and finally we focused on the preparation of a comprehensive city plan. Largely through the generosity of Mr. Marston, we were able to secure the services of John Nolen of Cambridge, Mass., the country's notable city planner. He spent a number of months here and was a delight, both professionally and personally. In 1907 he issued his report, which we had printed in book form, and which was the basis of the present Nolen plan. (This is considered inviolate by many people whenever it agrees with a project they have in mind, but is ignored when it doesn't.) The report was well received, and although it was amended in 1926, the plan is still fairly close to the original, except for the matter of the civic center.

In the original report, Nolen called for a group of buildings to be ranged around the block opposite the old court house to form a civic center. Mr. Marston at first favored this plan, while I wanted the center down at the waterfront, but later both Nolan and Marston fell in with the plan I supported. I had long felt that the waterfront would be best protected by reserving a site there for public buildings.

The location of the civic center became the issue of a long drawn-out battle, with successive harbor commissions nearly always unsympathetic to our aims. Finally the matter came up for a vote, and the waterfront won out over both the courthouse site and the park. This was followed by the problem of getting a bond issue authorized, and that proposal was twice, or perhaps three times, defeated.

Finally, during the W. P. A. days, the federal government, largely through the instrumentality of Ralph Jenney, put up $1,000,000 and the building was erected. There were 4 architects chosen, with the result that the structure is of a conventional type, neither good nor bad. While the broth was not spoilt by so many cooks at work, any original con-

ception was eliminated. The original plan called for a long, narrow tower which gave a certain character to the building, but the U. S. department of commerce wouldn't approve it, because of the proximity of the flying field. So it became necessary to scale down the tower, and, to meet the requirements of floor space, it had to be made wider, squattier, and less attractive.

I worked for years to secure this building, not because I cared a rap where the civic center was actually located, but because I continued to feel so strongly that the waterfront was one of the city's two principal assets, and its development would be insured by the locating there of a fine city and county building. But then they moved the waterfront away by constant dredging and filling, and now no shore is to be seen where once the water lapped. I take solace in the fact that some day, it doesn't matter just when, a harbor drive will be established on the other side of the building, and the end we sought will be eventually attained.

It was during the time that we were active on the civic committee that San Diego began to feel that it was a Big Town, and that it needed commercial piers. Mayor Capps drew up a plan for a long wharf at the foot of D Street. This was entirely in conflict with the Nolen plan, and our civic committee fought it hard. The plan was so stupid—to place your commercial pier in your own front yard—that I'm convinced it would never have gone through. The mass of people resent a lot of highbrows telling them what to do. Anyway, there is a lesson to be learned, and I have often found that a thing will solve itself if left alone.

After I had for many years been chairman of the civic committee of the chamber of commerce, an issue came up between my committee and the city's harbor commission, on some matter which I no longer remember. By a confusing turn of the wheel, I was appointed by the council as chairman of that very commission, with C. L. Williams and J. T. Anderson as the other members. We studied the point in controversy, and now that we were charged with the responsibility, we refused to do the very thing that we'd been clamoring for! This should point a moral: That it is very easy to criticize from the outside, but to act intelligently requires a thorough knowledge of all the issues and the courage to act on them. We were conscientious, but we did not stay long on the job; the council was jealous of its prerogatives, and as we had no real power, we gladly resigned.

Subsequently, around 1911, I got a more congenial appointment, to the chairmanship of the park board. The grounds were now developing

fast, since by the amended charter we were assured of a good deal of city money. We felt we needed a park superintendent, and after looking about we engaged John Morley, then assistant superintendent of the Los Angeles park system. From the first moment he served us splendidly, and continued his good work for over 25 years. It was a critical time in the park history; development had just started intensively; and then came the exposition.

* * * *

One night, in about 1910, our doorbell rang, and there were a number of "prominent citizens" of San Diego, wanting a rush signature for directors of an exposition to be held here in 1915. The rush was probably to get ahead of San Francisco, which was also planning to hold one at that time. Anyway, I signed (I was president of the bank and hence a "prominent citizen"). Charley Collier was the moving spirit of the whole venture, and worked on it dynamically all the while. It started ambitiously, with the goal of a whole million dollars, the largest amount that our minds could grasp at that time, and one that was almost synonymous with infinity. Plans were laid out for buildings all over the park. That was easy. But when the sponsors got around to figuring the costs, they found that a million not only wouldn't cover the project; it couldn't even make a fair start. The plan was grandiose in scale and had to be somewhat curtailed, but future expansion was still a factor, and little by little more millions were needed and demanded.

However, it was all done successfully. The state donated the funds which built that glorious permanent California Building with its dome and tower; the federal government allocated funds; and the city voted another million dollars for park improvements, really intended for the exposition. Meanwhile, after a row in congress, both San Francisco and San Diego were officially recognized as exposition cities. Altogether, between three and four million dollars were subscribed and granted before the fair opened. But soon came conservative doubts of the ability of San Diego to carry on the project, for there were many to whom it seemed ill-advised and quixotic. An increasing number of the more solid citizens were leaning toward this view, and a movement to quash the whole exposition was imminent when Collier called a public meeting. Amid wild enthusiasm the plan was endorsed, and we conservatives necessarily submitted, thereafter playing the game to the full.

I was then chairman of the park board, and we leased all the central portion of the park to the exposition, with the express understanding

that the buildings should come down after the fair was over. Bertram Goodhue, a master spirit, was chosen as architect; Frank Allen was construction chief; and John C. Olmsted, of the Cambridge Olmsteds, was landscape architect. The million dollars voted by the city had to be expended by the park board, even though it was intended for the exposition, and I successfully sidetracked about one-tenth of the sum for improvements on the Sixth Avenue section, though that was not in the exposition grounds proper.

Goodhue planned the main buildings, while Allen planned some of the others and supervised the construction of all. Allen designed and built the Cabrillo Bridge, a cantilever similar to the structure in Toledo, Spain. (I preferred a sweeping arch, but he won out, and I'm glad he did.) Olmsted started to lay out the park along broad lines, horticulturally, but when it was decided to focus the exposition in the center of the park, he rebelled.

Ilmsted's salary was $15,000 a year and expenses. He came out occasionally to feel his way, making his study and submitting his expense sheet—seventy-five cents for lunch, ten cents for tips, ten cents for shoe shine, etc. It was an example of New England exactitude. But when he found that the buildings were to go in the center of the park, he felt that this was a desecration of park purposes; that parks were for recreation, and not for exploitation or buildings. He wanted the exposition on the southern border, and though Marston, who was chairman of the state buildings and museum, and I both sided with him, the consensus, backed by Goodhue, was for the central section. Whereupon Olmsted refused to have anything further to do with the work, and quit. There again was New England, this time at its best—true to its conscience, at no matter what cost.

Having lost Olmsted, we looked about for the proper man to replace him, but this was not easy. Frank Allen came to us and volunteered to take over the work. "But Frank, you don't know the difference between a palm and a pine!" "Granted, but I can study them!" Well, we went on searching, and he went on studying and planting. Soon we recognized, in spite of ourselves, the success of his efforts, and we finally wound up by giving the planting to him. And what a success it was! Frank started fresh, with no preconceived ideas, and, doubtless with some technical help, so wrought his plans that from a horticultural point of view, our exposition of 1915 was unquestionably the finest that has ever been held. The setting made the fair, despite the smallness of our

resources, a considerable rival to the much larger exposition in the north, and did much to make our park the precious thing it is today.

Shortly before the exposition opened, our directors invited the directors of the San Francisco rival to a dinner at the Coronado Hotel. All the big men of San Francisco were there and in high spirits. Will Crocker was toastmaster, and every speech was excellent—a most unusual occurrence. I myself made the best talk I had ever made, taking the opportunity to pay tribute to the two cities I loved. The cleverest after-dinner speech I'd ever listened to came from the witty Larry Harris of San Francisco, who lambasted every previous speaker with the most pointed humorous digs. Each of our directors was commissioned to take charge of one of the San Francisco men, and give him a good time. To me was allotted A. P. Giannini. I found him engaging, and had a good time discussing his already-famous exploits in expansion. I always liked him and his banking methods, but was opposed to his stock manipulations, which to me seemed bound for ultimate trouble.

The dinner was a tremendous success, and when they some time later invited us in a return engagement, we accepted enthusiastically. But what a difference! When they were here in San Diego, we gladly gave them of our best; it was a special event. But when we went to San Francisco, we were but one of a thousand delegations, and it so happened that they had another affair on the night of our coming. Only a few of the San Francisco exposition directors were present, and the speeches were terrible, including my feeble attempt. Even the wit of Larry Harris fell flat. The last straw was the cover of the elaborately printed menu, which said: "Welcome Citizens of Santiago."

They were gracious enough to give everyone a sheaf of passes to the "Midway," but I was so disgusted that I went from the dinner to my hotel. The next day I heard of the wild times they had had that night, and I was sorry I hadn't stayed. I asked whether they wouldn't go again that evening, and with alacrity they agreed. We did have a wild time: we threw balls at targets, took raffles for hams, played various games, and for a grand climax went to the '49 camp, where Joe Sefton actually danced with one of the girls. What devils we were!

* * * *

To go back a bit: I had been chairman of the park board when the exposition was broached, but as the affairs of the park and the exposition grew more and more intermingled, I thought it only right to resign from the exposition and be more independent as park chairman. I did so.

Then in 1913 Mr. Marston ran for mayor against a comparatively unknown real-estate man named O'Neill and, strange as it may seem, was badly beaten. I, who had backed Marston to the hilt, felt obligated to get off the park board, and I resigned. (Resigning, you will note, was quite in my line.)

At the time there were two vacancies on the exposition board, which was faced with electing a president, and which was equally divided between Davidson's friends and Belcher's friends. The two new members would determine the election. Both Davidson and Belcher were good friends of mine, but the Belcher people backed Mat Heller and me. The fight was a bitter one. Davidson, being the incumbent, had a majority, but Hal Jones, the leader of the Belcher wing, invoked the cumulative vote (no use explaining this, but it had never been done, and shouldn't have been done then) and elected us two. It wasn't fair, and I would not have stood for it, but on Mr. Spreckels' pressure, Davidson was re-elected and at the same time Heller and I took our places on the board.

The exposition was now ready to open, and we did it with a bang. President Wilson sent Secretary of the Treasury William Gibbs McAdoo to represent him, and there were many prominent people and many speeches. The attendance was wonderful for a few days. Then it gradually dropped off until in the summer it dipped very low indeed, and finances got into bad shape. This is the story of practically all expositions, and the time comes, often very late, when drastic reductions are necessary and a conservative view must replace the boosting expenditures of the original managers. One evening I went through the grounds and heard no sound but the croaking of the frogs in the pool. Something had to be done to save the situation. A special finance committee of three, consisting of Belcher, Williams, and myself, was appointed to take over the management. We were at the end of our financial rope, and it looked as if we couldn't go on. We then devised a plan for a guarantee of loans up to a quarter of a million dollars, and I went up to San Francisco to see J. D. Spreckels and tell him that unless he headed the guarantee by signing for $100,000, we would have to close. He took out his pen and signed on the dotted line, and the situation was saved. We then got the rest of the guarantee fund easily, but fortunately never had to use it. Late summer brought a large attendance; the exposition became more and more appreciated; and we made up all our indebtedness. This, too, is the story of most expositions—in fact, of

most campaigns—a fine start, a depressed middle, and a fine wind-up.

The exposition brought many prominent national figures, governors, senators, congressmen galore—there were so many of these that they didn't count—and within a period of ten days we had Theodore Roosevelt, William Howard Taft, and William Jennings Bryan. I had the opportunity of spending some time with each of these three. The difference between Roosevelt and Taft was marked. Roosevelt would, in conversation, immediately seize on any difference in points of view, while Taft would stress the points of agreement, and gradually get to the differences. An hour with Roosevelt made one feel nervously keyed up; Taft made one feel easy by his gentleness. He was the most perfect gentleman I've ever met, but so willing to please that of course he could not make a great president. Bryan interested me; I wanted to find out whether he was a prophet or a faker, and when I got through I decided he was a bit of both—that his ideas came from without, but he unflinchingly made them a part of himself.

We gave a dinner at our house to Mr. and Mrs. Franklin Lane and the Adolf Millers. Miller, head of the Federal Reserve Bank, was a college classmate; and Lane, secretary of the interior, was a special student during our college days, so it was quite a reunion. At dinner were President Davidson of the exposition and Mrs. Davidson, and a few other guests. At table someone suggested going over to the fair after dinner, and in anticipation of a lark, we all went. We had a royal good time on the "Isthmus" (the fun zone) and joined in all the frivolities, even to sitting on the spinning discs. Our guests had such a good time that they suggested we do it again, but when Mrs. Davidson whispered to me, "Don't you do it; it would be an anticlimax," I realized that this was true wisdom.

So all went home happy, but early the next morning Mrs. Miller rang me up to say that her husband had lost his watch, an heirloom. That was a blow, and I felt it was my fault. I couldn't just give him a watch, but I could give him a work of art. I had seen a thin watch at Shreve's that was a repeater and a stop watch as well, and I wrote an order. Later that day Mrs. Miller, Mrs. Lane, and I were driving through the grounds when one of the Pinkerton men came up to announce that the watch had been found, unharmed. Miller had been hurling balls at some ringer or other; his watch had flown out of his pocket and struck some hanging drapery, which had saved it from breakage.

The 1915 exposition ended, as it had begun, in a burst of glory. At

this time the practice started of continuing such affairs into a second year. The moving spirits of the 1915 show, who had had to go through all the worries of reorganization during the slump period, wanted no part of the sequel. But Mr. Davidson, with some of the old directors and many new ones, carried on the staging of the 1916 show. Augmented by many of the San Francisco exhibits, it was better than the previous year as far as things to see were concerned, and it ended without any debts. But the excitement, the novelty, the spirit just weren't there.

When it was all over, we faced the problem of the buildings. It was understood that all the temporary structures were to come down. Goodhue was strongly in favor of this; Allen, who had built them, stated that the buildings weren't made to last beyond 1918, and we of the civic committee wanted the park restored to its normal recreational functions. There was a long controversy. In the end, the buildings remained, and even now, in 1941, grace the avenue with universal approval. They give the park not only character but reputation; they made possible the exposition of 1935; and besides, they are a standing invitation for replacement by permanent structures. Already two of the temporary buildings have been replaced: the fine arts and the natural history museums.

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When we came to San Diego from San Francisco in 1903 we went, as I have said, to the Coronado Hotel, and had no permanent home for 2½ years. But when I felt firmly established in the bank, and we knew we were here to stay, we decided to build. We were offered a frontage of 200 feet on Juniper between Front and First for $4500, or either of the 100's for $2500. Our experience had shown that 100 feet frontage was big enough, and we bought the Front Street 100 feet at the price asked. We engaged Irving Gill as architect, and with Laura supervising, he made us a very nice plan that has required little change in all these years.

We began work in the fall of 1904. I engaged Peffley, a very reliable contractor who had successfully remodeled our new banking quarters, to do the work on a cost-plus basis. I never saw men so much interested in their work: whenever one man scooped up a shovelful of earth, all the others would stop to watch him! It was a foretaste of the W. P. A. technique of later days. When the excavation was completed and the foundations up, I quit the cost-plus arrangement and let the contract to Mr. Peffley on his own figures, for he was a splendid chap. The price of

the building was $16,000, but this did not include finishing the third floor; we felt that, much as we'd like to have the work done, we couldn't afford it. Again my father came forward, and told us to finish it at his expense. Since then there have been some changes, particularly in bathrooms and a few minor additions; but as it stands, the house is a credit to both Gill and Peffley, with Laura, of course, the source of it all.

Our social contacts gradually grew. Laura was always a music lover, and "musical mornings" in our house were soon an established custom. In a way our house was a Mecca for interesting people. Particularly do I recall the many long visits of Prof. Henry Morse Stephens of the University of California history department.

Honesty compels me to insert into the record the fact of my responsibility for a building which does me no credit. When E. W. Scripps founded the Biological Institution (now the Scripps Institution of Oceanography) at La Jolla, I handled the funds and was chairman of the building committee. Having just had experience with Irving Gill as architect of our home, I was strongly in favor of him. Mr. Scripps didn't like Gill, but I stood firm, declaring that the man had a better sense of line and architectural harmony than anyone else I knew. Scripps gave in, and Gill designed the building. There it stands - - -!

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During this period we did a certain amount of traveling and vacationing. One must make a sharp distinction between pre-auto and post-auto days; between the times when a trip to Point Loma or to La Jolla was a day's doing, and the later days when it became a few minutes' jaunt; between the time when most roads were impassable in winter so that one was entirely landlocked, and the days of 3- to 6-lane paved highways where the only limit to speed is one's own good judgment.

My first real trip was to Yosemite. We in this southern clime always have a bit of snow hunger; so, one day when I was in San Francisco, I went to the railroad office and said, "I want a ticket to the snow." "There isn't any," said the clerk. "Come again in a few days." I did, and he told me I could now go to Truckee or Yosemite. Never having been to the latter place, I chose it. I borrowed sweater, boots, ear muffs, and all the winter accoutrements, and got to Merced, only to learn that the Yosemite road was still out of commission. I waited for 2 days and then got to El Portal, and from there, by stage, to the valley. A first view of it, all covered by snow, defies description. And it was all mine. No one was there but the caretaker in the Sentinel Hotel, and I had to live on

crackers, cheese, and sardines. I would saunter out, unfearful of losing my way, for I could come back on my own tracks. I borrowed a pair of skis; as I'm used to placing my feet at an angle, they tangled up in back, and I had to give it up. But I reveled in all of the rest, particularly in the trees covered with snow and spangled with ice. Suddenly I realized how ignorant I was, hardly knowing a pine from a palm. This started my studying when I returned—not only trees, but shrubs, flowers, and weeds. It is a rewarding subject and opens up a whole new world, for wherever one goes there are always old acquaintances or cousins of old acquaintances in the plant kingdom.

In late 1909, during the days of Porfirio Diaz, we went to Mexico, Leda Klauber accompanying us. It was excitement from beginning to end—our first taste of foreign life. . . .

Soon after our return from Mexico, we took our first European trip. Laura had not been well, so we went to Santa Barbara, and she took a rest cure in Dr. Brown's sanitarium, Miradero. I thought a complete change would do her good and mentioned a trip abroad. But as she went quite to pieces at the suggestion, I found it best to compromise on a trip east. By the time we had arrived there, she felt better, and gladly acceded to our making the trip across the Atlantic. We went on one of the German Ships and landed at Cherbourg. . . . [Thence they went to Paris, Florence, Rome (where his knowledge of Browning's *The Ring and the Book* ushered him into the presence of the real Castellani and his "imitative craft"), Venice, Paris again, and then London. Here they saw "the Hornes (George's aunt), and our old friend Bess O'Sullivan"—the former Miss Elizabeth Curtis of San Francisco and wife of Denis O'Sullivan the tenor. "We came home," he said, "feeling like true cosmopolitans. . . ."]

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To retire from business with a reasonably assured income is a thing theoretically desired by most people, but it would actually be a tragedy for many, if not for most. Unless people have in their youth acquired inner resources to tide them over in their old age, they are apt to have a hard time of it—so much so that in the case of active businessmen, they simply cannot bear the idleness. Nature is good to them, and they die soon. I have always thought it pathetic that people high up in the service, admirals for instance, are in command of a fleet one day, and the next—on their sixty-fourth birthday—are entirely out, with nothing to do. But somehow they stand it better than business men.

In my case the break was comfortably gradual. In the first place, I continued as chairman of the board of the bank for some months, and was reasonably active in adjusting our end of the business to the consolidation with the Southern Trust Company. On top of that, the war broke out. I was appointed chairman of the Liberty Loan drives for San Diego County, and for the next year and a half they were my chief concern. An excellent group of men helped me: Stanley Hale, Wilmot Griffiss (both long since gone), my good friend Lucien Bouvet, and many others.

There were 5 Liberty Loans, and San Diego went over the top in every one of them, particularly in the 4th, where a minimum and a maximum were set. San Diego and Pasadena were the only cities to reach the maximum. It was good work and good fun; good work usually is good fun. There were certain irritations, of course. One of them was the women's committee, with generals—all kinds of generals (or so it seemed to me), colonels, and so on down, each wearing the proper shoulder straps and insignia. They were more punctilious about their honors than about their work, and often got on my nerves. Then there were the demands of the extremists, who were for labeling all non-subscribers as spies and pro-Germans.

I have always felt that the success of our campaign was due to the decent manner in which it was conducted. We never used the word "Hun," seldom even the word "German," and appealed always not to hate but to the obligations of American citizenship. Another original thing we did was to enforce a rule of "no lunches" for promotion purposes. Before each campaign we had one large dinner, with a line of generals, admirals, notables, and, of course, the workers. We gave them instructions and then told them to go to it. That was all.

But we did have a parade or two, to arouse a spirit of enthusiasm. There were the 30,000 men at Camp Kearney, including the celebrated Grizzlies, and some of the characters were most interesting—among them Stewart Edward White, Peter B. Kyne, Thornwall Mullaly, and others.

The 4th Liberty Loan drive was my idea of what a campaign should be, and it would be worth copying—if the same circumstances obtained and it were possible to draft the workers, as it was then. We divided the city into 80 districts—some, 1 floor of a building; some, 20 blocks, depending on density—and selected 2 men for each district, giving them duplicate sheets to fill out a month before the campaign with the names

of prospective buyers—employers and employees. We hired a room, placed one set of these sheets on the wall, and during the campaign registered the subscriptions day by day. In this way, everybody had to be "present and accounted for." But there was no forcing; the way to conduct a campaign is to see that, as far as possible, people get pleasure out of their giving.

Among the nuisances were the "Four Minute Men" who spoke in theaters and at all kinds of gatherings. It was usually bunk and platitude. I remember saying to a group of them: "What you're after is not for the audience to say, 'What a wonderful speaker Jones is!' but for them to buy Liberty Bonds." Good speakers who don't shout are terribly scarce; and shouting, alas, was the vogue.

At some time during the Liberty Loan campaign, Secretary-of-the-Treasury William G. McAdoo came out to San Diego, and I saw a good deal of him. I drove him all over the town while we discussed the finances of the nation and of the world; I expressed my views on all sorts of financial problems. We got along so swimmingly that when we parted I half expected him to give me the job of assistant secretary-of-the-treasury, but all he said was, "You certainly are a good chauffeur!" He gave a luncheon to us, the Davidsons, and a few others, and I can still see the gracious way in which he presided as host, the grand manner in which he bowed each guest to a seat. But the next day, we got a bill for the luncheon.

As I have said, a number of fine chaps worked with me in the Liberty Loan drives: Percy Thompson, George Sturges, John Hawley, Wilmot Griffiss and the "Count," Lucien Bouvet. They all enjoyed the zest and excitement of the work, and when the war was over, expressed the hope that we would carry on in some similar activity. So I devised the Southern Syndicate, one of the first investment trusts in the country. We made a list of 25 of our leading citizens, who were asked to join, nominally putting up $1000 apiece. Everyone we asked responded willingly. Four of us put in $25,000 each, and we started off. I was to do the buying and attend to the credits, and the rest were to do the selling. I had no trouble in getting us placed on the underwriting list of J. P. Morgan, Dillon Reed, Kuhn Loeb, and others, and arranged for any credit we needed with Lazard Frères. We were all set. But when it came to selling, my poor colleagues didn't know how. They hadn't been brought up to do it, and they were all at sea. I remember mentioning the matter to George Sturges, and the poor fellow, wanting to do his part, spent a few

days ringing doorbells—in Logan Heights, I believe, at that. This was in 1919, and the boom was on, so whenever we bought bonds we sold them mainly in Wall Street, making a profit on each transaction.

For a time all went well. We had set up offices in the First National Bank Building, with handsome reception rooms and modern appointments. Then came the "crash" of 1920. Our easy days were over, and we had to sell at home. But by that time bond salesmen had infested the country, and we couldn't compete with their aggressive methods and exaggerated promises. Some interest defaulted on bonds we had sold, and some dividends on stocks. We felt a moral obligation to the people who had trusted us, and we paid the amount ourselves.

So things didn't look any too bright, and we paid back to each of the subscribers their $1000 together with interest, and we jogged along without any obligations, moral or otherwise. Soon Percy Thompson got tired, and we returned his money. Then we did the same thing for George Sturges, and only John Hawley and I were left. We wound up the syndicate in 1923 or '24, making a little money in the process, but Hawley and I operated our separate accounts from my office in our joint books for quite a number of years thereafter, and the relationship was always a pleasant one. We finally parted in about 1930.

After the dissolution of the active syndicate, I did nothing in the way of business, but devoted most of my time to public work or leisure, keeping an office in town. I had resigned from the bank shortly after it was sold to the Bank of Italy, as the directorate became a mere dummy body, a position never to my liking. Mr. Giannini offered me the presidency of the Merchants' National Bank when he bought that institution, but I turned it down.

However, in about 1921, shortly after the death of J. D. Spreckels, Frank Belcher, president of the First National Bank, was anxious to buy out the Spreckels interests in the bank. These were large, since the First had absorbed the old American National, which Spreckels had bought at the time of our break. Frank enlisted local support, and wanted me to come in. I did so gladly, having always liked him through our past associations. I continued as a director through the ups and downs of the bank—and they had both, but the downs in the early '30s far exceeded any ups to that date. I took a real interest, and recently for 7 or 8 years was active chairman of their finance committee, until federal enactment of the Clayton Bill, which forbids any director to be associated with two banks (the Southern Title and Trust officially ranks as a bank). Then I

had to resign my directorship, but by general request, as well as my own desire, I have kept up my interest, and attend both the finance meetings and those of the directors, without, however, having a vote.

During these years, when I was free and footloose, Laura and I took frequent trips to New York, usually in the fall, and got our fill of theatres. On a trip east in 1917 we called on Alice, who at that time was a senior at Vassar. She had taken her freshman year at Berkeley, after graduating from the Bishop's School as one of the first alumnae of that institution. She left the University of California to attend Vassar as a sophomore, for we wanted her to get a bit of Eastern life and atmosphere. She graduated in 1918 in the midst of the war, so festivities had to be pared down, Daisy Chain and all! But she made up for it by writing a Red Cross Masque, which was performed at Vassar and many other places, and was published in a magazine.

On June 22, 1920, Alice was married to George Heyneman at our home in a "high noon" wedding ceremony. It was a beautiful affair, with luncheon served in our garden.

We were proud of our garden and wanted it fully equipped. In laying out reasonably large grounds with architectural features, I somehow felt like having a sun dial. So, instead of buying one of the current type, which are the worst kind of an approximation to our accepted time, I decided to build a mathematically correct one of my own. I worked hard at it and soon developed the right idea, but to have it constructed was a much more difficult problem. I tried New York, Chicago, and San Francisco, but none of the instrument makers cared to tackle just 1; 10,000 would have been easy to have had made. By slow degrees, I worked it out at home, first with a carpenter, then a cabinet maker, then a bronze foundry for the frame. For the plates, I called in first a draftsman, then a photographer, then an etcher, then an enameller. When it was all done, at an expense of $850, I never thought of it as particularly original; I assumed that many people had converted the solar time of the usual dial, with its annotated corrections, into our present accepted standard time. I was surprised to discover that it had never been done. I could find no application for patents, nor could anyone recall a similar dial. I got a lot of publicity; the *Christian Science Monitor* had a two-column picture and story, and many papers copied it. I wrote an article describing the dial for the *Astronomical Journal of the Pacific*.

At Hugo's suggestion, I gave a copy of the dial to the park, and it was placed at Sixth and Date. Some years later someone stole it, but his con-

science smote him, and one night he returned it to the police office in the park. They placed it temporarily in the park barn, and the next night the barn burned down, warping the bronze to destruction.

Last year I gave one each of the dials to California Institute of Technology and Scripps College, sending the patterns for castings and the drawings for the plates to Cal. Tech., where the dials were to be made. After about a year, they had them finished, but wrong. I wrote Dr. Millikan, urging that for the sake of their reputation and mine, this must be remedied, and I called his attention to the fact that this was surely a case of "swallowing a camel and straining at a gnat"—that they could build the great 200-inch telescope at Palomar, and yet be unable to construct a very simple sundial. It is only lately that they have made the correction.

Early in 1923 we started on our second trip to Europe, and arranged to go with the Monroe Wertheimers. They were good friends, and we had known them a long time. Annetta was a sister of Melville's wife, Amy, and Monroe was an oldtime San Diegan who as a boy worked for Klauber & Levi. Later he went into the stationery and paper business here. He had struggled with it at the beginning, but his upward flight was soon to be meteoric. It came about strangely: he sold orange wrappers to a Los Angeles printing concern; they failed; he had to take over the plant and used so much paper that he finally induced the supplier to take him in partnership in the paper business. It was all the result of a chance circumstance, but there would have been no success without his ability to turn that opportunity to full account.

[The trip abroad in 1923 was a great success, and in 1928 Mr. and Mrs. Wangenheim went again, landing this time at Naples.]

During these years I had somehow got launched into the field of education. Pomona College had long been a great success, and it was growing fast. President Blaisdell felt that a big college would defeat its purpose, and proposed a university plan along the lines of Oxford and Cambridge—a large university to consist of small integral college units, of which Pomona was to be the first. Claremont Colleges thus came into being. Miss Ellen Scripps approved highly, and willingly launched Scripps College, to be devoted to women.

(To be continued)

News of the Society

OUR FOUNDER, HENRY R. WAGNER, IS DEAD

By Charles L. Camp

A beloved friend has passed with the death of Henry R. Wagner, distinguished founder of this Society. He was an inspiration in the early critical and precarious years, and the success of its reorganization was largely due to his foresight and planning.

His later life was devoted to Western history – bibliography, historiography, cartography, and essays. The productivity of his last forty years was amazing, especially so since this phase of his career did not begin until he reached the age of fifty-five, and was not preceded by specialized training in historical research. It followed a long, varied sequence of legal, economic, mining, and executive pursuits, in all of which he also attained preëminence.

His personal influence and example encouraged the activities of others in many historical and bibliographical fields, and resulted in the discovery and interpreting of the many scattered fragments of the history of the West – material that might otherwise have remained obscure, forgotten, or completely lost.

Henry Wagner was born in Philadelphia on September 27, 1862, the son of Jacob Frederick and Eliza (Kemp) Wagner. His mother, whom he loved very much and who was a strong directive in his life, survived his father by many years. She accompanied her son on visits to Europe and throughout America. She came of a Protestant, Yorkshire family and was, like her son, adventurous, convivial, and engaging, with stout convictions.

Henry's father, of Pennsylvania Dutch ancestry, was a businessman. He encouraged his son to enter Yale, supported him while attending college and to some extent thereafter, until the family fortune was lost in the Panic of 1893.

Henry graduated from Yale with the class of 1884 and returned for two more years in the Law School. He immediately came West, was admitted to the Missouri bar in 1887, and entered into partnership with two friends in Kansas City. The town was a gathering place for frontiersmen of the vanishing Old West: cattle and mining men, real estate promoters, newspaper men. Wagner was popular and soon became well acquainted. He made close friends at the University Club, which he helped to found. He was retained in legal disputes, listened to the tales of Indians and old timers, and became immensely attracted to the Western scene, which he came to know intimately, especially its historical background.

Through his partners and business associates, he became immersed in mines and mining affairs: In New Mexico he assisted in managing a silver mine in the Apache country; in California, in 1888, he met some of the Comstock promoters; and finally, in Denver, he studied the ore-sampling business. There he organized another University Club, engaged in mining, and found employment with Rossiter Raymond, the editor of the *Mining and Engineering Journal*. While he was

with Raymond, he visited Virginia City, where he collected statistics on the Comstock operations. However, he found it necessary to go to New York to finish this particular job.

Returning to Denver, he became an ore-buyer until 1893 for the Globe Smelting and Refining Company. The next year, in Kansas City and Chicago, he tried his hand at journalism by writing two or three articles for the *Kansas City Times*.

The year 1894 found him introducing mining machinery into Mexico for the E. P. Allis Company. General John B. Frisbie, married to one of General Mariano G. Vallejo's daughters, induced Wagner to accept managership of El Oro Mine. But Denver soon saw him again at his old work. During the winter he was sent to the Slocan District of British Columbia, where he suffered from the cold but found solace in rare dinners of grouse and teal. While in Seattle in '97 he witnessed the dramatic start of the Alaskan Gold Rush.

Wagner's long association with the Guggenheim family firm began in 1898 as an ore-buyer and smelter-manager in Chile. He refreshed his knowledge of Spanish and toured South America and Europe extensively as personnel executive, business manager, and trouble-shooter for the firm.

He went to London in 1903 to superintend silver buying, also visiting Germany to study the Huntington-Haberlein smelting process. On his recommendation, this was introduced into the United States and Mexico. In 1907 he returned to Mexico and took charge of the El Paso office, center of operations for Northern Mexico, New Mexico, and Arizona, of the Guggenheim interests. Possibly by personal magic, he weathered the Mexican Revolution of 1911 and had various startling negotiations with Francisco ("Pancho") Villa. He sometimes referred to his dealings with Villa – and they could have been turned into an exciting motion picture script.

Wagner's instinct for collecting and ferreting out books started in Mexico in 1892, when he began to pick up items on the history of mining and metallurgy. His uncanny perception and skill in evaluating rare and valuable source materials extended into the field of economics and history. While in London he frequented the old bookshops and auction rooms. There he purchased a notable collection of 17th and 18th century economics tracts which formed the basis of his first book: the *Bibliography of Irish Economics*, privately printed in 1907 in an edition of 125 copies.

After this, he immediately turned to another investigation – Mexico, the Southwest, Texas, and the Mexican Revolution of 1810-21. About this time, while in New York in 1914, he became attracted to some of the rare narratives of the Overland Trail which had appeared at the Hubbard sale. The book, *The Plains and the Rockies*, was the result of this interest. That bibliography was barely finished when the material was sold to Henry E. Huntington. It has been suggested that Wagner sold those books to Huntington and then moved to San Marino to be close enough to study them. Actually, he made little further use of

this collection. His interest had already turned to the Spanish Southwest; he finished his notable bibliography on that subject in 1924.

His next field of interest was a study of the motives for Francis Drake's famous voyage, and the result of that penetrating research appeared in 1926 in his definitive treatise on Drake. This investigation had led him to seek documents in the Spanish Archives on Spanish voyages to the Northwest Coast. Annotated translations and explanations of these documents were published in 1929.

Wagner was preëminent not only in the study of the early Spanish records, but also as a student of cartography. His researches led him, in 1937, to publish his exhaustive *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America*, with a wealth of new information.

He became interested, too, in the history of printing in Western America, and in 1922 issued a bibliography of California imprints, 1846–June, 1851. His (1939) bibliography of *Mexican Imprints, 1544-1600*, was preceded by a catalogue of imprints of the Grabhorn Press, based on items in his own collection. His survey of the *Commercial Printers of San Francisco from 1851 to 1880*, also published in 1939, led him into a search for the productions of the Edward Bosqui Press, and finally to a study of the history of the A. L. Bancroft printing establishment. His last studies were on Las Casas, not yet published, and the Northwest fur-trader, Peter Pond.

After partial retirement from the Guggenheim firm at the age of fifty-five, Wagner married, went to California, and bought a home on El Camino Real in Berkeley. He lived there until 1928.

Mrs. Wagner, nee Blanche Henriette Collet, daughter of a French sculptor and architect, became an artist in her own right as well as a translator of French and Spanish. She was known in Berkeley as a gracious hostess, and no one visiting her home will forget her vivacity and charm – or the superb cuisine.

Following his removal to Southern California, Wagner became prominent in local affairs – President of the Southern California Historical Society, and member of the Zamorano Club and the Sunset Club. He had already been made a Fellow of the Royal Geographical Society of London.

In 1936, from Pomona College, he received the honorary degree of Doctor of Literature; in 1946 Yale likewise honored him with the degree of Doctor of Humane Letters; and in 1949 the University of California, Los Angeles, gave him the LL.D.

Yale University received three great collections from Wagner – Mexican history and imprints, his library on economics, and the Texas material. His Spanish Southwestern collection went to Lathrop Harper, and his cartographical material to Pomona College. These great libraries indicate the breadth of his varied interests. He was quick to perceive the essential quality of a piece of investigation; carried his work rapidly to publication; then he usually turned to a new or related topic.

Wagner disliked reworking old ground, for new horizons beckoned him. His

excellent judgment of men and character was valuable in historical research, and he was seldom if ever deceived by a fraud or a fake. This characteristic of sound, balanced judgment elevated him to a position of great respect among his associates. His ability, coupled with his perseverance, caused him to succeed where others failed, even in the rough-and-tumble business world of his time.

His memory was phenomenal, not only for material he had read but also for names, places, and conversations. It was amazing to hear him quote something you had said years before and completely forgotten.

He could absorb a pile of tracts or maps, then turn away and scribble out notes on them in a hand illegible to anyone but himself. He translated Old Spanish with facility, using the dictionary only for technical terms.

He took a keen, quiet delight in living, and enjoyed all kinds of new experiences with boyish enthusiasm. His bland, sometimes bluff exterior covered an engaging charm and wit, in which were mixed a love of anecdote and pithy wisdom. He made friends readily and was firm in his friendships; he delighted in his friends and they in him. Those who knew him felt privileged in their association and will never forget him.

The rejuvenation of the California Historical Society on February 16, 1922, was due largely to Wagner's stimulating influence. The old Society had been dormant since the disaster of 1906; indeed, from 1893 to 1906 only a few embers still glowed. One of these was the California Historic-Genealogical Society, some of whose members joined the new group.

It was Wagner who persuaded C. Templeton Crocker to head the list of patrons, and it was Wagner and E. S. Heller who were chiefly responsible for working out the plan of reorganization. As chairman of the first Publications Committee, Wagner founded the QUARTERLY and insisted on its being issued regularly as the primary purpose of the Society. His encouragement and enthusiasm brought contributions and support.

The Society will always remember Henry Raup Wagner as a leader among the persons influential in its reëstablishment. And quite fittingly, his portrait has an honored place now in our new library.

Henry Wagner died at his home in San Marino on March 27, 1957, at the venerable age of ninety-four and one-half years. During the last seven, although afflicted with advancing blindness, he undauntedly continued his researches, with the aid of his dedicated secretary, Mrs. Ruth Frey Axe.

Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund. Below are the names that have been inscribed since the commencement of the memorial:

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Marion Atkins
Thomas P. Bacon
A. R. Baldwin
Isabelle Ball
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Eleanor Ashby Bancroft
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Gonzalo Zapata
Maria Ch. Zapata

In Memoriam

EVERETTE L. DE GOLYER

Widely known as the most eminent petroleum geologist in the United States, E. L. De Golyer died at Dallas, Texas, on December 14, 1956. He was born at Greensburg, Kansas, October 9, 1886. There was no affluence about him in his youth. Hard work with the U. S. geological survey and with the Mexican Eagle Oil Co. helped to pay his way through the University of Oklahoma, which, in 1911, granted him an A.B. degree. His experience with oil production in acquiring an education had been accompanied by such a rapid rise in his knowledge of its nature, occurrence, and behavior that the corresponding rise in his personal fortunes is not surprising. So large, indeed, and varied did his business activities become that it is difficult even to begin to list them here. In 1919 commenced his connection with the Amerada Corporation, of which he was vice-president and general manager for 7 years, then president and general manager for 3 years, and for 3 more years he was chairman of the board. Among his other interests was the firm of De Golyer & MacNaughton, known as the "Dun & Bradstreet" of petroleum engineers. He had been a director of the Southern Pacific Co. since 1947.

De Golyer's services to the government included the work he did as U. S. assistant-deputy petroleum administrator for war in 1941-43, during which he headed a commission to study the oil resources of Mexico. In addition to all these time-consuming technical activities and in spite of a serious eye-affliction, he was chairman of the editorial board of the *Saturday Review of Literature* from 1948 until his death. Literature interested him. At his home in Dallas, Texas, he had a remarkable collection of books relating to western America and Mexico; in line with this, he maintained membership in the Zamorano Club of Los Angeles and in the California Historical Society of which he was a sustaining member.

In the course of his career, honorary degrees came to Mr. De Golyer from the Colorado School of Mines, Southern Methodist University, Tulane University, Trinity College, and Princeton, among other institutions. In college his scholarship was recognized by election to Sigma Xi and to Phi Beta Kappa.

His wife—the former Nell Virginia Goodrich whom he married on June 10, 1910—a son, 3 daughters, and 13 grandchildren survive him. Joining the family at this time are the many friends and associates to whom news of the death of a cultured and learned gentleman like E. L. De Golyer has caused genuine sorrow.

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

PETER MASTEN DUNNE, S.J.

On January 15, 1957, the Reverend Peter Masten Dunne, S.J., chairman of the history department of the University of San Francisco from 1934-1957, died at St. Mary's Hospital in San Francisco. Father Dunne was a distinguished scholar and teacher, and as he was known to many members of the California Historical Society an appreciation of his life and accomplishments is here presented.

Peter Masten Dunne was born in San Jose, California, on April 16, 1889. His father was the manager of large family land-holdings in the Hollister area, and the "Dunneville" which still appears on some modern California maps was originally named for earlier members of the family. As had his father, Peter Dunne attended the then Santa Clara College and, in 1906, he entered the Society of Jesus at the Jesuit House of Studies in Los Gatos. After the long period of preparation which marks the training of a Jesuit, he was sent to Hastings in England and there, in 1921, he was raised to the priesthood in the Jesuit Order. Some graduate training in history at Columbia University followed; also a period of several years which he spent in teaching younger Jesuits at Los Gatos. In 1930 he came to the University of San Francisco. Studies under Dr. Herbert E. Bolton at the University of California won for him in 1934 the Ph.D. in American history, and from that year until his demise, over two decades later, Father Dunne served on the faculty of the University of San Francisco with notable ability and devotion. Nor were his labors unappreciated, for, at the last commencement held in the War Memorial Opera House in San Francisco in June 1956, Father Dunne was awarded an honorary doctorate of laws by a grateful university. The next month he rounded out exactly one-half century of service in the Jesuit Order.

Father Dunne will be remembered best by historians for his publications on the work of the Jesuits in northern colonial Mexico, from Tarahumara to Lower California and Arizona. These included *Pioneer Black Robes on the West Coast; Black Robes in Lower California; Pioneer Jesuits in Northern Mexico,* as well as *Early Jesuit Missions in Tarahumara.* A complete check of his publications would reveal over sixty articles and some half dozen other books. He left two unpublished manuscripts behind him, one a general account of the Jesuit missionary effort in northern colonial Mexico, and the other a series of letters of one of the missionaries. In all these studies, Father Dunne drew on the abundant manuscript and archival material with which long study had made him completely conversant. In collaboration with Father John Francis Bannon, S.J., of St. Louis University, he also prepared a textbook entitled *Latin America: An Historical Survey.* In December 1955, further recognition came to Father Dunne when he was elected president of the Pacific coast branch of the American Historical Association.

All who knew him will recall Father Dunne as a genial scholar and gentleman of a type of which the world of learning stands constantly in need. He will be recalled, too, as one who, until the last year of his life, possessed excellent physical health and a fine stamina which carried him through long days of scholarly

activity. It was a surprise both to him and to his students and friends when sudden surgery last February revealed a malignancy which had hitherto been unsuspected. After a partial recovery, and a resumption of his classroom duties, Father Dunne suffered a recurrence which necessitated a return to the hospital in middle December. He had already written his presidential address for the branch meeting of the American Historical Association which was scheduled to be held in Eugene, Oregon, in late December and, despite considerable physical discomfort which would have disheartened many another in his position, he journeyed to Eugene in the company of a Jesuit confrère and there presided, in his official capacity, and read his address. The subject indicated a return to his first love in the historical field for, long before his interest in Jesuit colonial history, Father Dunne had been a student of the Renaissance and Reformation. Appropriately, then, was his last public address entitled: "The Renaissance and the Reformation, a Study in Objectivity: Legends True and False." It was exceptionally well received by a large group, for the members of the branch seemed to realize what an effort was behind the delivery of this address. Returning to San Francisco, Father Dunne quietly and composedly bade farewell to some of his closest friends and professional associates and entered St. Mary's Hospital again where, in less than two weeks, he died. He will be sorely missed by a veritable legion of friends and former students: in all things, he showed himself a devoted man in the highest and best sense of those words. One of his younger Jesuit colleagues was recently asked who would succeed Father Dunne at USF. His answer was: "One does not succeed a Peter Masten Dunne; one hopes only to follow humbly in his footsteps."

JOHN BERNARD MCGLOIN, S. J.

GEORGE DAVIS LOUDERBACK

On February 26, 1849, Davis Louderback, accompanied by his wife and children, left Philadelphia on the *Levant* and arrived in San Francisco via Cape Horn on September 15th. His son, also Davis Louderback, became prosecuting attorney of San Francisco, police judge, and a well-known lawyer. It is with the son of Davis Louderback, Jr., and his wife Frances Caroline (Smith) Louderback that the present article is concerned.

George Davis Louderback was born in San Francisco April 6, 1874. He graduated from the San Francisco Boys High School in 1892, from the University of California with an A.B. degree in 1896, and, three years later, was granted his Ph.D., cum laude—in spite of the fact that while preparing for it he had been assistant in the mineralogical laboratory since 1897. He was married to Clara Augusta Henry (A.B., Univ. of Calif., 1896) of Porterville, California, on October 3, 1899. The next year he became professor of geology and physics at the University of Nevada, and when the chair was divided he continued as pro-

fessor of geology. From 1903 to 1905 he was research assistant at the Carnegie Institution of Washington. He returned to the University of California in 1906 as assistant professor of geology, and in 1907 became associate professor. Ten years later he was made a full professor. Meanwhile (1914) he headed an expedition for the Standard Oil Co. of New York into the interior of China to investigate the possibility of oil occurrence, an investigation which he pursued further in 1915-16 for the Chinese government. The rest of the year 1916 was spent in travel in the Philippines. On his return to the United States, he resumed his professorship on the Berkeley campus, serving also as dean of the college of letters and science from 1920 to 1922. In 1930 he was again appointed to this office which he held until 1939.

On November 27, 1939, a committee of 9 professors rendered its report to the academic senate, northern division, of the University of California, recommending Professor Louderback as faculty research-lecturer for the year 1940. The report contains much information as to his numerous publications on geological subjects of great interest to science and industry, many of them undertaken in conjunction with our national and state governments. As dean of the college of letters and science in 1930, he had shown, said the report, "great wisdom and executive ability." Concluding, the committee called attention to "his greatest success of all, namely, the esteem and affection which he has so easily and so graciously won in the minds and hearts of his colleagues.... Few have exercised so benign an influence on the policies and practices of the University...."

George Louderback retired as professor of geology in 1944 and became emeritus professor.* After his retirement he was often consultant in regard to the foundations of important dams, and he did a great deal of work in gathering information, from scattered and forgotten sources, on the older earthquakes of California. One of his later publications was "The Geologic History of San Francisco Bay," issued in December 1951 by the California division of mines as its *Bulletin 154*.

In spite of ill-health during the past year, he carried on the work he had on hand. He was stricken with a brain hemorrhage on November 4, 1956, but recovered sufficiently to be conscious and to be able to speak. He passed away in his sleep on the morning of January 27, 1957.

Professor Louderback was a member of many learned societies, including the Geological Society of America, the American Association of Petroleum Geologists, and the American Seismological Society. He was president of the seismological society in 1914 and again in 1929-35, after which he served as editor of its *Bulletin* until his last illness. At the time of World War I, his expert knowledge of minerals was of special use in appraising the extent to which they could be counted upon as a national and state resource. But, as the report cited above

*In 1946 the University of California conferred on him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws.

made clear, all this tremendously-detailed professional work did not lessen the warmth and sincerity of his character. Many clubs numbered him in their membership: the University of California Faculty Club, of which he was president 1939-46; the City Commons Club of Berkeley; the Athenian-Nile Club of Oakland; the Bohemian Club of San Francisco—to mention a few.

The memory of this writer goes back to an evening in our freshman year when Louderback and I met for the first time. We became steeped in the histories of the college classes that had preceded us, with their class rushes, Bourdon burials, their battles between sophomores and freshmen over the maintenance of class numbers on the hill above the campus, their hallowe'en escapades and other practices now forgotten. George was a good banjoist in his youth and sang many songs to his own accompaniment. He was skillful, too, with a camera; it was he who was responsible for the picture of the class-rush in which 1896 tied up 1895 on April 1st, 1893, as is shown on page 241 of the 1894 *Blue and Gold*. Gay and resourceful he was in those days, but he kept to a high grade of scholarship, with a Greek major in his freshman year before taking up the exacting disciplines of chemistry and geology.

That the class of 1896 at the University of California has been able to maintain its organization through all the years since graduation is due largely to the unfailing industry of its secretary, George Louderback, who preserved its records and who, up to his last illness, kept in touch with all of us as much as possible. The annual men's dinners are a tradition. The 5-year dinners for women and men are still held and class members come considerable distances to attend them.

Louderback was deeply interested in California history. His membership in the Society of California Pioneers meant much to him, as did his association with members of the California Historical Society where, on October 11, 1956—less than a month before he became seriously ill—he was luncheon speaker on "Geological Activity Preceding Human Occupancy of the [San Francisco] Bay Region." This is a subject which demanded continuous research on his part, and the weighing of evidence uncovered even as late as the construction of the Bay Bridge.

When I last saw him alive I was surprised at the firmness of his handclasp in greeting me and in saying goodbye. This encouraged me to think that he was gaining strength rapidly, but he died soon afterwards. By his professional attainments he had won honor for himself and for the University of California. By his personality he had won for himself a vast amount of affection.

William Watkin Winn

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

December 1956-March 15, 1957

Materials of great interest have been contributed by many friends.

The contributors to the Building Fund during the months covered by this report are omitted from the list of names below solely because their number is so great. More than 730 members have donated to this Fund, and they deserve an expression of recognition and of sincere gratitude for which space in the QUARTERLY is not available. This, then, is a note of both apology and thanks to the one-third of the Society's membership who, through their generosity, made the California Historical Society a tangible spot on the map.

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Marginalia

WILLIAM R. CAMERON is a native of Hanford, Calif., whose expected graduation from the University of California in 1942 was postponed until 1947 by the war—which also shifted him from a college "major" in business administration to a colonel-commander in the U. S. air force. Throughout these and other changes in professional direction he has maintained a first-love interest in history, to which we are indebted for his present account of Rancho Santa Margarita.

CHARLES L. CAMP, professor of paleontology at the University of California and author of *Earth Song, a Prologue to History* (Univ. Calif. Press, 1952), was a director of the California Historical Society, 1923-33, and succeeded Henry R. Wagner as chairman of its publications committee. See this QUARTERLY, Sept. 1949, pp. 277-78, for a review of his address before the Society on "Gold Days in California, Australia, and South Africa."

Those who are familiar with the important contributions made by FRANCIS P. FARQUHAR to our knowledge of the Sierra Nevada* will be glad to find that the essentials of research into the question of Drake's California anchorage posed no problem and that he can be just as clear and effective in his analysis of history at sea-level as he is among the peaks and canyons of the great sierra. Mr. Farquhar (Harvard Univ., 1909) has been a director of the Society for many years.

Texas-born JOHN C. HOGAN (M.A., 1948, U.C.L.A.) is a frequent contributor to the nation's law periodicals (list on file in the Society's biographical collection), among them being "Blackstone and Joseph Story—their Influence on the Development of Criminal Law in America," in *Minnesota Law Review* (Jan. 1956), 107-24. His *The Wills of the Justices: the Last Wills and Testaments of Twenty-Three Justices of the U. S. Supreme Court* is now available in microfilm edition, Oceana Publications (New York, 1956). Mr. Hogan is research editor, The Rand Corp., Santa Monica, Calif.

WILLIAM C. MILLER, born in Detroit, Michigan, holds a Ph.D. degree from U. S. C. For some 20 years he was a member of the English department, University of Nevada, and continued on in the recently-created department of speech. His doctoral thesis was concerned with the theater in Virginia City, 1860-75.

E. W. SCHNITZER (Ph.D., Leipsig) is a staff-member of the social science divison, The Rand Corp., Santa Monca, and is a contributor to various periodicals on political and historical subjects.

For a biographical note on WALTER A. STARR (Univ. Calif., 1897)—Yukon River prospector, San Joaquin Valley grain grower and long-time member of Edw. L. Eyre & Co., San Francisco grain merchants, and thereafter official of the Soundview Pulp Co.—*see* the Sept. 1948 QUARTERLY, pp. 283-84, at the time that his article, "Abraham Dubois Starr," pioneer Calif. miller and wheat exporter, was published (pp. 193-202). Mr. Starr was a director of this Society for many years and served as its president in 1942.

HENRY J. WEBB (Ph.D., Univ. Iowa, 1941) served as combat-historian with the U. S. army in Europe during World War II. He is now associate professor of English, University of Utah.

**Place Names of the High Sierra* (San Francisco: Sierra Club, 1926); *Journal of William H. Brewer*, ed. by Francis P. Farquhar (New Haven, 1930); *Yosemite, the Big Trees, and the High Sierra: a Selective Bibliography* (Berkeley, 1948).

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June 1957

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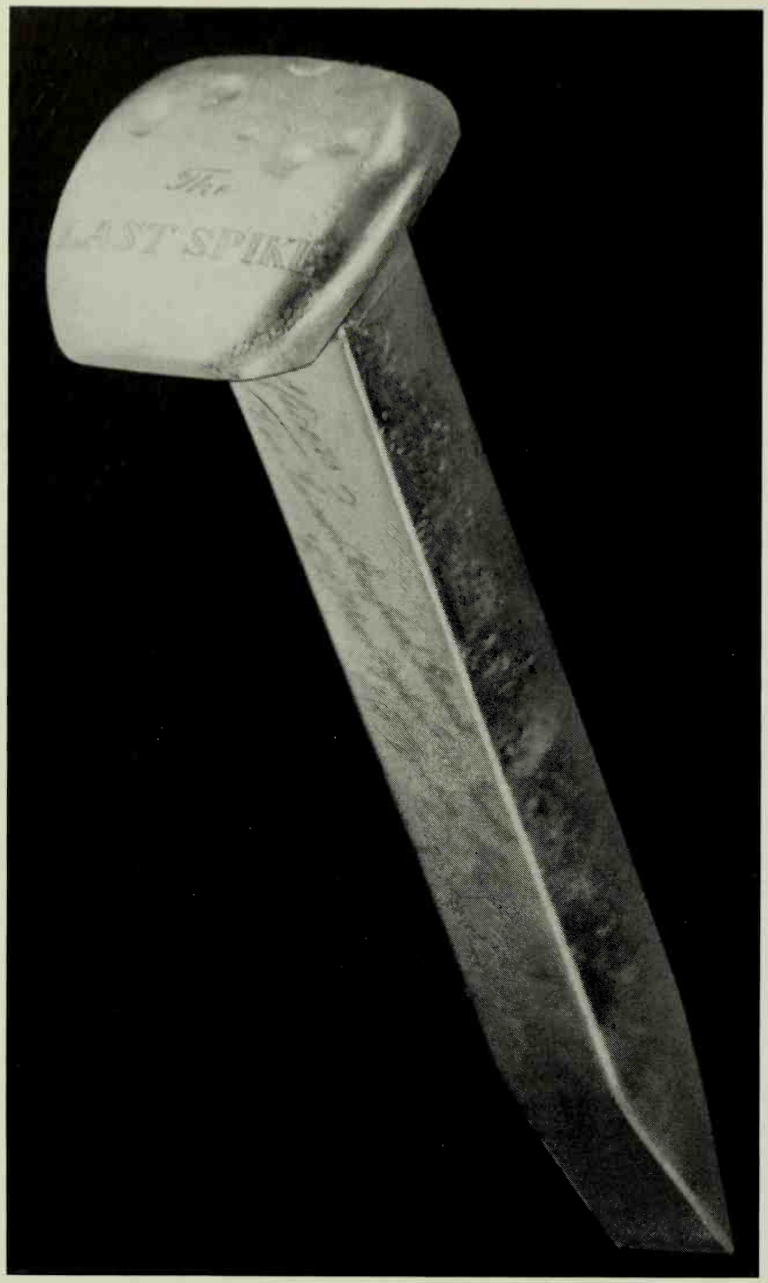
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THE GOLD SPIKE. Head very smooth except for indentations; apparent defect on right edge is photographic reflection. Instead of being sharp, point is blunt, about ⅛ inch wide where nugget was broken off to make souvenirs.

Driving the Last Spike

At Promontory, 1869

By J. N. Bowman

In July 1954, the governor's office referred to the state archives a letter of inquiry as to a second gold spike used upon the completion of the transcontinental railroad at Promontory on May 10, 1869. In preparing an answer to the letter, a number of problems arose, especially regarding the tradition that a silver sledge made the impressions on the head of the gold spike, that this spike was "driven," and that it was the last one driven. The following is the result of that study (see *Conclusion*, below). But because of the conflicting stories of the events of that day written by persons present at the ceremonies, the various factors involved will first be considered.

The Source Material. There are extant no official or public records of the day's events, so that reliance must be placed on the statements of the persons present who sent dispatches then or later, or who wrote items or gave interviews at later dates. Over 20 newspapers had 1 or more reporters present; 3 persons present wrote diaries; and G. M. Dodge, S. D. Dillon, A. L. Bowsher, and David Lemon wrote stories or gave interviews long afterwards. Published accounts have been written from tradition or from some of these stories, and so are of secondary value. The existing contradictions may be explained by the statement of H. Beadle in the *Utah Daily Reporter*, 2 days after the events took place: namely, that no arrangements had been made for the ceremony and at the last minute a few items of procedure were laid down. "As it was, the crowd pushed upon the workmen so closely that less than 20 persons saw the affair entirely, while none of the reporters were able to hear all that was said"; and he "regrets that the noise and confusion prevented us from hearing their addresses." C. R. Savage and Bowsher stated later that they did not see the whole of the ceremony as they were both too busy. Much of the data of the dispatches, especially the copies of the speeches and of the prayer, had been secured beforehand

during the 2-day delay at Ogden. Regarding the gold spike, it is evident that its prominence in all these stories is due to its intrinsic value, to the prominence of the donor, and to its having been the "last" spike. The general confusion may also be seen in the fact that the reporters, with one exception, did not note the position of the sun or of the shadows cast, and so do not speak in terms of the actual cardinal points. Their statements must be read in terms of the photographs taken at the time by the 3 official photographers, and also by what may be considered as reasonably possible.[1]

The Gold Spike. The gold spike was presented by David Hewes of San Francisco, who had become wealthy by leveling the sand ridges and dunes and filling in the water lots. His offer to provide a gold spike was accepted by President Leland Stanford of the Central Pacific R.R. The spike was made and finished by Schulz, Fischer & Mohrig, San Francisco, with a rough gold nugget attached to its end or point. It was reported as 6 inches long, weighing 18 ounces and valued at $350. Its actual description is: 5⅝ inches long (overall) and 17/32 inches square, 14.13 ounces in weight, 14.292 specific gravity, 13.377 ounces approximate gold, and 17.6 carats fine. It was inscribed on all 4 sides with the names of the officers and directors, the donor and the salutation, and on the top were the words "The last Spike." The inscription has been printed many times. The spike was on exhibition in San Francisco and later in Sacramento before going to the "front." After the ceremony it was removed from the "last" tie, brought back to California, and returned to the donor in whose possession it remained until it was given in 1892, as part of his art collection, to Stanford University. In 1936 the university deposited the spike in the Wells Fargo Bank, San Francisco, with arrangements for its exhibit daily in the history room; on November 1, 1954, it was returned to the university where it now reposes in the museum.

The spike shows no sledge marks on the head nor any abrasions on the sides or edges as the result of driving in and removal from a tie; the point now shows the irregular edge where the nugget was broken off to be turned into souvenirs; this edge is the length of the width of the spike and is about ⅛ inch wide, indicating the difficulty that would have been experienced had it actually been driven into a tie. The only markings on the spike are the indentations on the head, which tradition says were made by the silver hammer when it was driven into the tie as the last

spike. Nor are there any claw marks on or under the head to indicate its removal from a tie. Also there is nothing in connection with the spike to indicate that it is not now in the condition it was in in 1869 when it was returned to Hewes from Promontory. Any markings, sledge marks, claw marks, abrasions on the sides and edges made on that day would have been as highly regarded as the spike itself.[2]

The Second Gold Spike. This spike was overshadowed by the Hewes spike because of its less intrinsic value and because its donor was less well known. Its existence was mentioned by a number of newspapers in both San Francisco and Sacramento when it was on exhibition, but after that it was not mentioned as such during the presentation of the 4 ceremonial spikes, and was only included anonymously as one of the "two gold spikes" used on that day. It was presented to President Stanford by Frank Marriott, proprietor of the San Francisco *News Letter.* It was described as about 5 inches in length, weighing about 9½ ounces and valued at about $200, and was inscribed: "With this spike the San Francisco *News Letter* offers its homage to the great work which has joined the Atlantic and Pacific Oceans. This month—May, 1869." Unfortunately no copies of the *News Letter* of May 1869 are known to be in existence, therefore all knowledge of it rests on the notices in the other papers.

The only direct reference to the fate of the second gold spike, so far found, is the statement in the Sacramento *Bee* that Dodge received this spike while Stanford received the gold spike and the silver sledge. Its fate beyond this point is unknown.[3]

The Nevada Silver Spike. This spike, mentioned by all reporters, had been ordered suddenly and presumably by Commissioner J. W. Haines early in May 1869; the order was given to the E. Ruhling & Co., assayers, Virginia City, who provided the silver and supervised its manufacture by Robert Lodge of the Dowling Blacksmith Shop on May 5th. During the forging, the papers reported that over 100 persons each struck 1 or more blows with sledges. It was said to be about 6 inches long, ¾ inches square with a 1½ inch head, weighed 10½ ounces (one paper said 10¼), and was made from 25 ounces of silver. The assayer reported its fineness as "50 gold and 942 silver." It was in a somewhat rough condition, unpolished, and bore only the stamp of "E. Ruhling & Co." When completed, it was taken by C. von Gorder in a buggy 20 miles to Reno, where he arrived just in time to catch the delayed Sacramento special

to Promontory, and was there handed to Commissioner Haines. After the ceremony, its return to Nevada was reported 3 days later: that G. T. Gage arrived in Virginia City "early yesterday [May 11] bringing with him the Nevada silver spike driven at the point where the connection was made between the Central Pacific and the Union Pacific railroads. After a train passed over them both the gold spike of California and silver spike of Nevada were taken out and iron spikes substituted. The last spike will be carefully preserved." Within 10 days the spike was somewhat remodeled, the "E. Ruhling & Co." stamp was removed, and it was polished and inscribed with "To Leland Stanford President of the Central Pacific Railroad. To the iron of the East and the gold of the West Nevada adds her link of silver to span the continent and wed the oceans. . . . It was placed in a neat case fashioned to fit it" and was on exhibition on May 23 in the Nye & Co. store, jewelers. Beyond this point its story was lost until it turned up in Stanford University's museum. The university reports an absence of evidence as to when and by whom it came into its possession. From the salutation of the inscription it may be inferred that, at once or at an early date, it was sent to Stanford who treasured it with the silver sledge, and together they came in the 1890's to the new university where they were joined by the gold spike when it arrived from the Hewes heirs.

The silver spike is identical in length and size to the Hewes gold spike with a slight difference in the head, and has the above inscription on one side but with no other wording. The spike shows no evidence of sledge marks on the head nor claw marks under the head, nor scratches on the sides and edges from having been driven into and pulled out of a tie; but the head has about 8 small prick marks which might have been made by some pointed instrument — not by a sledge — or may have been made in packing for transportation.[4]

The Arizona Iron-Silver-Gold Spike. The reporters record the presentation of this spike by Gov. A. K. P. Safford but give no description or data as to the spike itself. One Arizona paper, however, quotes the San Francisco *Bulletin* as stating that on an unmentioned date there had been exhibited at D. W. Laird's jewelry store at 610 Market

> a beautiful spike which will be presented to the Central Pacific Railroad Company as Arizona's tribute to the great triumph of the age. The spike is six inches in length, three-quarters of an inch thick and is 1½ inches across the head, and weighs 10¼ ounces. The gold and silver used are of the finest quality and the workmanship is very creditable. The following inscription is engraved upon this

the last spike: "Ribbed with iron, clad in silver and crowned with gold Arizona presents her offering to the enterprise that has banded a continent, dictated a pathway to commerce. Presented by Governor Safford."

The reporters indicate that Arizona Territory itself was unaware of the spike: "Our new governor A. K. P. Safford was present at the laying of the last rail and driving of the last spike. We are told that he presented in the name of the Territory a spike of gold, silver and iron with an appropriate sentiment." The governor had been newly appointed and on May 10, 1869, had not yet been in his new district; in fact he did not reach it until July 8. The spike was removed with the others when the laurel tie was replaced after the ceremony, but what became of it is unknown, even by the present Arizona authorities. It could be inferred that it was returned to the governor, who brought it back to California with him on his way by boat from San Francisco to San Diego, in transit overland to Yuma and his new station.[5]

Other Ceremonial Spikes. The report in *Leslie's* mentions 2 gold and 2 silver spikes furnished by Montana, Idaho, California, and Nevada, but without identification as to which state gave which type. There was also a tradition that Utah presented one; however, no evidence has been found of any spikes other than those already noted, and the present authorities in these states report no knowledge on the subject. The rumor no doubt resulted from the confused and congested reporting conditions of that day.[6]

The Lemon Spike. On August 13, 1954, the iron spike of David Lemon arrived at the history room of the Wells Fargo Bank in San Francisco from Illinois, where it had been preserved since 1869 by Lemon, his son and assigns, the latter presenting it in 1954 to the bank to be placed beside the gold spike with which it was closely associated. It is an ordinary iron spike of its day, 5½ inches long and roughly ½ inch square, with one side of the head raised by the claw which removed it from the tie. The small glass-topped box containing the spike also contained the following affidavit:

To Whom It May Concern: This is the original and last iron spike driven in the completion of the Union Pacific Railroad on May 10, 1869. As fireman on the first engine over it, I was an eyewitness to the occasion. This spike was driven last, then drawn, thereby making a hole for the gold spike. Afterward the gold spike was removed and this same iron spike redriven in the hole, and by me asking Sup[erintenden]t H. M. Hoxie for this as a souvenir, Supt. Hoxie had the track

foreman re-pull it and handed it to me for the service I rendered Supt. Hoxie in a former time. I have since handed it down to my son, O. E. Lemon, and it is his property. Through courtesy it will be loaned to the Whiteside-Griswold Memorial Library of White Hall for the time being. S/s David Lemon. Subscribed and sworn before me at White Hall, Ills., this 10th day of May, A.D., 1924. J. D. Rowe, Notary Public.

The following statement accompanied the spike:

To Whom It May Concern: This spike is the property of K. W. Vanderpool, until his death, or until he otherwise disposes of it and then only to William Lee Dawdy, to whom it has been promised. It was given to me by Otis Lemon, son of the late David Lemon who was present at the gold spike ceremony and whose account of the episode is contained inside this box. S/s K. W. Vanderpool

Some questions must be raised regarding statements in the affidavit: (1) Lemon mentions that he was the fireman on the first engine over the junction but without giving the engine number, as he does in an interview in the same month in which the affidavit was signed—No. 117. From photographs taken at that time, it is known that No. 119 first crossed over the joint. (2) It would not have been the last spike driven, as the last one was driven by Stanford and Durant; it could have been the last one driven in the tie which replaced the laurel tie, especially if only one replacement was needed to accommodate the souvenir hunters. (3) The spike could not have made the hole for the gold spike, as those holes were made by an auger. Part of the iron spike is larger at the point than the gold spike, and a hole made by it would have been a very snug fit for the latter, because of the contraction of the wood after its redrawal; likewise, some marking would be expected on the sides and/or edges of the gold spike, but of which there is no indication. (4) Also this iron spike could not have been re-driven in the original hole after the gold spike had been removed, because the laurel tie, into prepared holes in which the gold and silver spikes were dropped, was removed and replaced by an ordinary tie. Undoubtedly the iron spike was driven in the replaced tie, and probably in the same position occupied by the gold spike; this is on the assumption that there was only 1 replaced tie. At least it could have been 1 of the 4 last iron spikes driven in the replacement.

On November 1, 1954, the Lemon iron spike was given by the Wells Fargo Bank to Stanford University to join the gold spike upon its return to the museum where it now keeps company with the gold and silver spikes and the silver sledge.[7]

The Silver Sledge. The silver "pick," maul or sledge, as described by the reporters when it was on exhibition in San Francisco and Sacramento, was "the kind used in driving railroad spikes," with a hickory handle, and made by Conroy & O'Connor; it was "heavily plated with silver which was done by Vanderslice & Co.," both San Francisco firms. It was presented by the Pacific Express Co. in whose office it was on exhibition before going to Sacramento on its way to the "front."

The sledge is now and has long been in the possession of Stanford University. The head has an over-all length of 6¾ inches divided into the base part, 3 inches long, with a round head 1¾ inches in diameter; and the pointed part 3¾ inches long, with a head ½ inch in diameter. It is stamped "Conroy & O'Connor." The silver plating now shows breaking, thus exposing the iron beneath. The 2 heads of the sledge show no evidence of blows in driving the spikes, nor of their striking the rail instead of the last spike at the first blow given by Stanford as reported. Any blow struck by this sledge must have been very gentle, serving only as a token blow. The part it may have played in the driving must have been symbolical only.[8]

The Laurel Tie. The ceremonial laurel tie was presented by West Evans, tie-contractor for the Central Pacific. It may have been cut by P. R. Thayer of Piedmont from trees on the side of Mount Tamalpais, yet one reporter has it coming from Santa Cruz. It was prepared and polished by Strahle & Hughes, billiard-table manufacturers in San Francisco; it was about 7½ feet in length and 8 x 6 inches in width and thickness, and had an 8 x 6 inch silver plate on the top and in the center, and was without silver bands on the ends (as one reporter stated). The plate was inscribed: "The last tie laid on the completion of the Pacific Railroad, May, 1869," with the list of officers and directors, together with the names of the maker and the donor.

The tie was on exhibition in both San Francisco and Sacramento before going on the Stanford special train to Promontory. Holes were bored in it to receive the ceremonial spikes, as said above. One story, which must be questioned, has it that the holes were made by driving spikes in the proper places and that this was done on the Stanford special on the way to the "front." The holes were very probably made by a ¾ inch auger, or larger, after arriving at Promontory and during the two-day delay in the celebration. Auger holes are mentioned by many of the reporters, but whether holes for each rail were opposite or alternate is not known; it is assumed that the holes were in the usual position for spikes.

After the ceremony and after the engines had passed over it, the tie was removed and brought back to Sacramento where it remained in the railroad shop until, in 1890, it was taken to the Southern Pacific's main offices in the Flood Building, San Francisco, where it was stored in the office of one of the officials until it was burned in the 1906 San Francisco fire.[9]

The Iron Tie. One reporter, who was present, stated that the Union Pacific had "a fancy iron tie from the East on which the California laurel sleeper will be laid." No other reference to it has been found; yet the attitude of this line, especially that of Dodge, regarding the road holding its own ceremony, would make the existence of this tie a possibility. However, the photograph taken after the rails and ties had been placed, but before the ceremonial driving, shows no place under the joint where the laurel tie was to be placed, sufficiently deep to accommodate another tie, unless the iron tie was very thin. No reporter mentions it in connection with the tie ceremony. If an iron tie existed it must have been intended for a separate ceremony, to be conducted at this or some other time and place.[10]

Wiring for the Broadcasts. The reporters are in general agreement as to some sort of wiring of the hammer and the spike for broadcasting the blows over the Western Union system. Nothing has been learned as to who initiated the idea of a broadcast nor when the agreement was reached; the first notice found of such an arrangement is dated May 4 in Sacramento. The wiring work would take some time, and so must have been done, with a regular sledge and a regular spike, before the ceremony began. The reporters indicate that the wiring was actually done by F. L. Vandenberg of the Union Pacific, with the help of the Central Pacific's telegraph operator H. Sigler. The sledge was to be handled by Stanford, who was to strike the initial blow for the broadcast and who would naturally stand on his side — the south side — of the tie; consequently it would be wired to the Central Pacific line, with the spike wired to the Union Pacific wires. The regular telegraph wires were also connected with the key of the operator who made the system-wide broadcast.

For the details of the wiring, the reporters' stories — that the wires were connected to the silver sledge and to the gold spike — must be questioned. The time factor as recorded and reported in Washington, D. C., would not permit the wiring of these 2 objects after their presentation, if the stories were questioned for no other reasons. As indicated above,

the congestion and confusion of the unprepared ceremony made careful observation by the reporters impossible. So reliance must be placed on the statement of A. L. Bowsher, the Union Pacific general foreman of telegraph, even though his statement was made 57 years later. Also Bowsher's narrative seems reasonable and in conformity with the other events. The sledge, according to him, was one in regular use; on the head was wired a sheet of copper to improve the contact, to which the wires were attached, twisted around the handle and run to the Central Pacific line. The spike was a regular spike with the head "carefully polished" to provide a good contact; it was partly driven into the tie next south of the laurel tie, and connected with the Union Pacific wires. In 1926 Bowsher drew a sketch of the wiring of the sledge and the spike for Earl Heath of the Southern Pacific public relations office. Whether these wires were connected directly with the wires of the two roads, as they very probably were, or to the key of the operator is unknown.[11]

(To be continued)

NOTES

1. Unless otherwise stated, citations are to San Francisco newspapers; thus: *Alta* for *Alta California, Bull.* for *Bulletin, Chron.* for *Chronicle, Exam.* for *Examiner,* etc.

The Sacramento *Bee* and the *Union* are cited as *Bee, Union* respectively; the *Nevada Territorial Enterprise* as *Enterprise.*

The diarists were J. C. Currier, C. R. Savage, and L. H. Eicholtz.

S. D. Dillon, G. M. Dodge, E. L. Sabin, and J. D. B. Stillman, all eyewitnesses, wrote articles then or later. A. L. Bowsher and David Lemon gave interviews, much later, as to the events of that day. Most of these sources are in the Bancroft Library, Berkeley. Earl Heath and E. C. Schafer, of the public relations departments of the Southern Pacific and Union Pacific respectively, have an abundance of data on the Promontory ceremonies.

After note 2, below, the year 1869 is understood, unless otherwise stated.

2. The general literature on the subject is not listed here. See *Herald,* May 5, 1869; *Utah Reporter,* May 12, 1869. *Chron.,* May 5, 1869, alone mentions the nugget as attached to the head of the gold spike instead of to the point, and that it weighed 7 ounces. There is no evidence as to the source of the gold for the Hewes spike. Commercial dust or nuggets would imply a value of $214.49, without the "nugget." The papers generally reported the spike's value as between $360 and $414, but without indicating whether this included the "nugget."

3. *Bee,* May 7 and 13; *Bull.,* May 7; *Call,* May 4; *Chron.,* May 5; *Exam.,* May 5;

Herald, May 5; *Idaho World*, May 13; *Enterprise*, May 9 and 12; *Times*, May 5; *Union*, May 5; *Utah Reporter*, May 12 (3 days earlier it mentioned the 2 gold spikes as having been "presented by the press of Sacramento"); *Leslie's*, June 5, p. 23; *Overland*, III, 82.

4. *Alta*, May 12; *Arizona Miner*, May 29, June 5 and 12; Gold Hill *News*, May 7 and 12; *Enterprise*, May 6, 7, 13, and 23; *Utah Reporter*, May 12; White Pine *News*, May 13 and 23. *Overland*, *op. cit.* One reporter stated that the spike was inscribed at the time of the presentation, and gave the presentation talk practically in the words of the present inscription. From the surplus silver used in making the spike, duplicates were made by the Ruhling Co. One was presented to the editor of the Gold Hill *News* (May 6), and no doubt to other papers; and Governor Safford presented a duplicate to the editor of the Carson *Appeal* (May 11).

5. *Alta*, May 12; *Arizona Miner*, May 20 and June 13; *Arizonian*, July 10; *Bull.*, May 11 and 13; *Enterprise*, May 9, 12, 13; *Utah Reporter*, May 12; *Overland*, *op. cit.* (the item in the *Bull.* to which reference was there made has not been located in that paper).

6. *Leslie's*, June 5, p. 23; *Scribner's*, Aug., 1892, p. 258.

7. By accident I was in the history room of the Wells Fargo Bank on Aug. 13, 1954, when the express package arrived, and I aided Miss Simpson in removing the packing and the small glass-topped box in which the spike had been preserved. E. C. Schafer (note 1 above) has kindly provided photographs of engines 117 and 119, and also other pictures by which 119 can be identified as the first one to cross the junction. After 55 years, Lemon could easily confuse the numbers 117 and 119, and also incidents of the relation of the iron to the gold spike, but he would be less likely to confuse the driving of the spike into the replaced tie.

8. *Alta*, May 8; *Bull.*, May 11; *Exam.*, May 6; *Herald*, May 10; *Union*, May 5 and 6; *Times*, May 10. The metal length of the typical spike maul of that day was 6¾ in.; the handle 33 in. (overall). Similar tools of today, according to S. P. officials, have 14- and 15-in. metal heads and 32- and 36-in. handles (overall), for use with the larger spikes and 6-in. rails.

9. *Alta*, May 5; *Bee*, May 4; *Bull.*, May 11 and 13; *Chron.*, May 5; *Call*, May 4; *Exam.*, May 4; *State Capitol Reporter*, May 11; *Union*, May 10; *Utah Reporter*, May 12; *Harper's*, July, p. 293; *Leslie's*, June 5, p. 23; *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, *Dec.* 1945, p. 368, note 5. There is a tradition that Hewes, who provided the gold spike, also provided the laurel tie or at least paid for it; but no evidence has been found to that effect. The donor was, without doubt, West Evans.

10. *Alta*, May 10; Sacramento *Record*, May 11.

11. *Bee*, May 4; *Bull.*, May 11; Chicago *Tribune*, May 11; *Chron.*, May 12; *Times*, May 12; *Union*, May 11; *Utah Reporter*, May 9 and 12; *Leslie's*, June 5, p. 19; *Overland*, *op. cit.*, p. 83; Eicholtz's diary, p. 61. *Engineers Journal*, July, p. 292, says the wire was attached to the rail instead of to the spike; *Deseret News*, May 19, states that Supt. W. B. Hibbard of the Western Union had the wires attached. Bowsher's interview with Heath is in *South. Pac. Bull.*, May 1926.

History in California[1]

By John D. Hicks

A dozen years ago the *Quarterly* printed an article I wrote on "California in History." As a relative newcomer to the Pacific Coast, I was then trying to get the state properly located in the historical scheme of things, both national and international. Now I should like to turn the title around, and record my observations on "History in California," with particular reference to such activities as concern the history of the state itself, and of its component parts.

Evidence of a surging tide of interest in history lies all about us. The new magazine, *American Heritage*, a journal of popular history, has achieved in a few years a circulation of 200,000-odd copies per issue. Radio and television programs constantly present historical themes. Book clubs turn almost unfailingly to history for their non-fiction offerings; a few devote themselves exclusively to the circulation of historical works. Historical societies, national, state, and local, are booming, with greatly increased memberships and interest.

The reason for this, I think, is that the public generally has begun to realize the truth of what historians have been saying for a long time, that history, far from being useless, has become almost a necessity. History is the record of human experience, and only by familiarity with that record can humanity hope to reach intelligent decisions on the problems of today and tomorrow. Reason alone cannot suffice, but reason based on an intimate understanding of how things have come about will carry us as far as fallible man can go.

The approaches to this view of history are varied. For some the romantic-antiquarian flavor of the past furnishes the introduction; many Californians, for example, find a fascination in those old and different days of the Spanish missions, the Bear Flag revolt, and the gold mines. But if they pursue their interest far enough they can hardly

[1]This paper follows in part an address delivered at the luncheon meeting of the California Historical Society, March 14, 1957.

escape the query, How did early California become the California we know today? And for the answer they must somehow bridge the gap between then and now. A second approach is personal. People live longer now than they used to, and the longer one lives the more store he is likely to set by experience. One revives in memory the days of his youth, and in his leisure moments checks up on himself again. He may even discover an interest in his ancestors; he realizes that they contributed characteristics he himself may have inherited, and that similarly the times in which they lived, together with the times through which he has lived, have created the world he sees about him. And now he is well on the way toward becoming an amateur historian. A third approach comes through interest in places. Localities play a great part in our lives, and local curiosity often begets an appreciation of history. What was the route of the first trail through our town, what was the site of the first building, what is the oldest original edifice still standing? The work of our historical landmarks commission in seeking out and marking accurately many such locations is worthy of the highest commendation. Of course if one stops with mere markers he doesn't progress far along the road to usable history. But if his curiosity begins to get the better of him, if he gropes on toward the present scene and how it came about, he may even come up with some surprising answers to current problems, such, for example, as what is wrong with the local fire department, or the police department, or the school board. Once caught in the historical net, not many of the curious escape.

One manifestation of the new interest in history is the public concern over the preservation of original historical sources. We cannot write of the past, except from memory, without documents. "No documents, no history"; it is almost that simple. So we who believe in history take heart as we observe the current anxiety to preserve the documentary evidence from which history is to be written. In this connection our local historical societies are doing an excellent work. They promote the establishment of museums which recall through furniture, pictures, implements (all documents in a way) the social surroundings of some earlier time. But if old objects are worth saving, why not also old letters, diaries, and journals? As a result of such thinking not only the battered trunk and desk in grandmother's attic rate a rescue, but sometimes also the far more valuable documents these receptacles contain. This does not mean that such historical material has any monetary value, for ordinarily it has none. But the public generally is beginning to realize that family

manuscripts will be regarded with respect by almost any historical society, will be accepted gladly as gifts, and will be painstakingly preserved.

The care now taken to preserve California newspapers is another evidence of the growing interest in our state's history. Newspapers are rich historical sources; they may not always print all the news that's fit to print, but the amount of information they store up in daily, or even weekly, editions is almost immeasurable. Up to recent times the preservation of newspapers has presented two baffling problems, first, their bulk requires more space than most libraries can provide; and secondly, the paper on which they are generally printed has only a limited tenure of life. In microfilm we have the solution to both problems. The result is that our state library at Sacramento, for example, which subscribes to about 185 newspapers, including one or more from every county in California, can reduce such acquisitions to small compass, and store them indefinitely. Indeed, newspapers sometimes do their own microfilming and permit libraries to acquire them in microfilm form. Old newspapers that might otherwise go to pieces are also being reproduced on microfilm. The state library, like many another, has a great backlog of files yet to be photographed, but the work goes on, and with adequate financial resources, it can be completed.

All of our great libraries—university, college, city, and private—tend now to accept some degree of responsibility for the preservation of source material on the history of California. The Henry E. Huntington Library of San Marino, although devoted mainly to English and early American history and literature, cannot by virtue of its location overlook the treasures of California, and does not. Great city libraries, such as those of Los Angeles, San Francisco, and Oakland, have valuable and growing California collections. For the past several years the California History Foundation of the College of the Pacific has engaged actively in the acquisition of Californiana. The libraries of Occidental, Whittier, Redlands, the Claremont Colleges, and indeed those of practically every institution of collegiate grade in the state, all show a lively interest in the sources of California history. The various universities, San Francisco, Southern California, Stanford, and California (through its several branches) are of necessity deeply involved.

The Bancroft Library of the University of California, which is possibly unique in the extent to which it concentrates on the search for California material, has succeeded admirably in gathering together

sources of every kind pertaining to the history of the state. A few examples of recent acquisitions will serve to illustrate this point. The T. W. Norris Collection of Californiana contains, in addition to its valuable early material, items of consequence on George Sterling, Charles Warren Stoddard, Jack London, Robinson Jeffers, and Bret Harte. The papers of California governors such as George C. Pardee, Hiram Johnson, Frank F. Merriam, and Culbert L. Olson are among the treasures of its manuscripts division. Also in its possession are the papers of George Hatfield, state senator and lieutenant-governor; Robert W. Kenney, attorney general; Harry E. Drobish, state senator and agricultural extension executive; Chester Rowell, newspaper man and publicist; Joseph Henry Jackson, columnist and historian; William H. Smyth, expositor of technocracy; Thomas J. Mooney, labor "martyr"; Gertrude Atherton, novelist; Ina Coolbrith, poet; Albert Dibblee, merchant. The papers of the last mentioned are an example of the business records for which Bancroft scouts now have an alert eye; others of this type include papers from the files of the Dolbeer and Carson Lumber Co. and the Spreckels Sugar Co. The Bancroft also sponsors an extensive project for acquiring on microfilm material relating to California in various Mexican and European archives, including the records of British business firms that once operated in California. By no means all of these treasures are yet available for the use of writers, for they must first be classified and arranged according to some reasonable pattern. But the important thing is that they are being preserved, to contribute at some future date toward the clarification of California's history.

Also contributing to definite lines of investigation into the state's past are some recent acquisitions by the California Historical Society; among them, the papers of the pioneer California merchant, William Davis Merry Howard, 1823-1865; papers of Gov. James Rolph, *ca.* 1911–*ca.* 1929, which, due to their bulk, are as yet unprocessed; minute-books of 13 Spreckels companies, 1879-1936; papers of Towle Brothers Co., Towle, 1861-1909; minute-books of the California Wine Association, 1894-1923; and the papers of the San Francisco Gardeners and Ranchers Association, 1906-1907.

It is proper also to take note of the oral history project sponsored by the University of California. The technique of the interview, so admirably used by Hubert Howe Bancroft in earlier years, has been revived; only now, by use of the tape recorder and trained interviewers, it is possible to obtain far better results. Already the recollections of

many individuals who have had a large part in the making of California history have been recorded, and the work continues.

The care taken today in the preservation of archives is another evidence of the new understanding that history is important. It was a long time before the government of the United States began to realize that its records were valuable enough to be worthy of preservation; not until the closing days of the Hoover administration was the cornerstone laid for the National Archives Building in Washington. But now a national archives and records service has under its jurisdiction, either in the national capital or elsewhere, practically all of the non-current records of the federal government. Since so many of these records originate outside Washington, there is a great subsidiary devoted to civilian personnel records in St. Louis, and in addition ten regional federal records centers. One of these regional centers is located in South San Francisco, and houses a wealth of material on national agencies that have been active in the California area.

In keeping with the program of the national government, the state of California has of late made a more consistent effort than formerly to preserve its records. As early as January 5, 1850, the state legislature directed the secretary of state to take custody of all public records and to classify them for use, but the really effective carrying out of this mandate dates back little further than a revision of this basic law in 1947. Now the Archives and Central Record Depository, located in Room 12 of the capitol basement and in the Archives Building at 1020 O St., Sacramento, is making a valiant and successful effort to bring order out of what once was little better than chaos. In addition to an archivist and an assistant archivist, the agency employs a historian, whose duties include the sifting of records in order to eliminate and destroy those that have no permanent value, and thus to mark for retention only those that possess historical significance. The agency sometimes also seeks out and takes over local archival material that has been long stored away in outlying state agencies and forgotten. For example, the present historian, Dr. Wm. N. Davis, Jr., recently discovered a valuable deposit of Port of San Francisco records, dating from 1863 to the 1920's, in the tower of the Ferry Building. He rescued them, and they are now, after careful screening, available for historians to use in Sacramento. As for local records in general, the state archives agency has launched a county records project which is making good headway toward spreading to every county-seat and city-hall the gospel of more orderly archival procedures.

Governmental archives are by no means the only ones worth saving. Large corporations in particular are realizing the wisdom of treating their old records with respect. From them a business organization is not only able on occasion to answer questions of importance to current transactions, but also to provide the sources from which the historian can construct a truthful account of the corporation's past. This latter can sometimes be a valuable business asset. Court proceedings of one kind or another have opened the records of most American big businesses to public inspection here and there, and often in the worst places. From these imperfect sources writers with an axe to grind have frequently concocted stories far more lurid than truthful. Perhaps on the theory that the whole story could not possibly be as bad as the "muckrakers" seem to infer, some businesses have deliberately made all of their older records available for study. Some, indeed, have gone further, and have employed historians to write a history of the corporation. The Bank of America, to cite one example, has to its credit such a book, Marquis James and Bessie Rowland James, *Biography of a Bank* (1954), while the Standard Oil Co. of California, to cite another, has an admirably organized history project at work under the guidance of Dr. Gerald T. White of San Francisco State College. Dr. White and his staff have even acquired papers that would show what competitors thought of Standard, and, in spite of the overwhelming quantity of sources they must examine, expect to have Volume I of a proposed two volume series in first draft before the end of the year. Other companies, among them North American Aviation, Industrial Indemnity, and Crown Zellerbach, have shown more than a passing interest in preserving their archives with a view to historical use.

Important as it is, the preservation of historical materials only begins the process of making the past available for present and future use. Until the historian works the sources over, and produces from them an orderly narrative or analysis, they can give little aid or comfort to the ordinary citizen. Fortunately more history in general, and more California history in particular, is being written today than ever before. To a considerable extent this task is done by graduate students who are candidates for higher degrees at one or another of our numerous universities and colleges. Always for the Ph.D. in history, and nearly always for the master's degree, the candidate must present a thesis written in large part from original sources. The number of such theses now in progress within the state is astonishing. A few years ago our state col-

leges received authority to grant the master's degree, and they have made rapid headway with their graduate program. The 9 of them together in December 1956 had no less than 5521 master's candidates, of whom 673 were working in the social studies, which includes history. The activities of our other institutions of higher learning would bring the number of these second-degree seekers far up into the thousands each year – probably that many just for history alone. Candidates for the Ph.D. are expected to write more significant dissertations than those working only for the master's degree, but even so the Ph.D. output for the state in history must be counted each year at least by the scores. Not all of these students are at work on California subjects, but inasmuch as California sources are more abundant than any others, a very high percentage of California master's and doctor's candidates in history do write on one aspect or another of the state's past. We could use a careful statistical study on this subject, but so far none exists.

My own experience, which covers the past 15 years, will probably provide an adequate sample of the kind of work these students are doing. During this time I have directed or have read officially a few theses on frontier themes, such as the early history of the port of San Francisco, gold rush days in the Sonora area, and steamboating on the Columbia River; 3 others on antiforeigner, or nativist, movements in California, 1 dealing with the early period, 1 with the middle period, and 1 with more recent times; several on various aspects of state or local politics, Pardee's fight for a pure water supply in Oakland, Pardee as governor, the EPIC movement, the rebirth of the Democratic party in California, Olson as governor; quite a number on economic subjects, the expansion of the Bank of America, the Central Valley project, the almond industry, the walnut industry, viniculture, farmer movements, and the role of state government in the California economy; a few that might be classified as social history, the prohibition movement in California, the enforcement (or unenforcement) of prohibition in San Francisco, the migration of the Negro to the Bay Area, a history of the Sierra Club, and the career of Brother Justin, a Catholic educator; 2 on what would nowadays be called intellectual history, an examination of the ideas of John S. Hittell – "Gold Rush Intellectual" – and Herbert Hoover's concept of American individualism; and at least 1 that involves international affairs, on the California press and American neutrality, 1914-1917. Some of these theses have found their way into print, for example: Robert E. Burke, *Olson's New Deal for California* (1953);

Clarke A. Chambers, *California Farm Organizations* (1952); Vincent P. Carosso, *The California Wine Industry* (1951); and Elizabeth M. Riley, "The History of the California Almond Industry," printed serially in *Almond Facts*, September-October 1949 through March-April 1950. Eventually others will no doubt become books or articles, but in any event they are all available to interested readers both in our local library, and elsewhere through our inter-library loan service.

The student who writes a thesis gets his reward in part through the degree it brings him, but for most other writers publication is the principal goal; without it in prospect they would see little point in writing. Fortunately the outlet in print for writers on California history is excellent. The *California Historical Society Quarterly*, *The Historical Society of Southern California Quarterly*, and *The Pacific Historical Review* are always on the look-out for worthwhile articles. State historical organizations, such as the Conference of California Historical Societies and the California History Foundation, bend every effort to promote the publication of historical material. Even local groups are frequently able to help the cause along; for example, The Sacramento County Historical Society through its *Golden Notes*, the Siskiyou County Historical Society through its annual *Yearbook*, and the San Diego Historical Society through its *Quarterly*. Trade journals fill out their columns with appropriate historical items, none better perhaps than Lawrence C. Powell's excellent monthly summary on western books and writers in *Westways*, a publication of the Southern California Automobile Association. Newspapers run historical stories, particularly in their Sunday supplements and anniversary issues. And, incidentally, many journalists graduate naturally into reputable historians. Some of them, obliged to supply suitable backgrounds for their chronicles of current events, find in the newspaper "morgues" material with an almost irresistible appeal. The enrichment of California history through the work of Joseph Henry Jackson, to mention only a single name, can hardly be overestimated. University presses aid by the publication of books of fairly general interest, such as Walton E. Bean, *Boss Reuf's San Francisco* (1952), and George E. Mowry, *The California Progressives* (1951). Likewise, the Huntington Library and the Bancroft Library sponsor the publication of books on California history. Bibliophiles conspire together for the same purpose; the Sacramento Book Collector's Club will publish this year its sixth book, a history of the first 25 years of the Sacramento *Union*. Commercial publishers such

as Westernlore Press, Pacific Books, and the Arthur H. Clark Co. make money, presumably, from bringing out books on California. Relevant in this connection is the work of the State Bar of California's committee on history of law in California, which has produced in mimeographed form an *Introduction and Guide to the History of Law in California* (1956).

As some of the titles already cited seem to indicate, the new writing on California history is less concentrated on the early period than formerly, and more concerned with events that lie just back of the present. Also, political history tends to yield ground steadily to economic and social history. Historical writers have begun to take note of the fact that oil has played possibly an even more important role than gold in the making of California. The history of labor, of business, of agriculture, each looms larger all the while. Urban expansion and urban life have become meat for the historian no less than for the sociologist. Population movements, immigration and immigrant influences, the building of our highways and freeways, the social impact of war, California's contributions to religion, to education, to art and architecture, to music, all these are subjects that are attracting a steadily increasing amount of attention. And because we are always learning so much more about our past, the task of synthesis is never done. Historians who attempt a general account of our history face the constantly recurring problem of revision. It is up to them to keep abreast with the new findings, to weave the new material into the old, to replace the old interpretations with newer and better ones. John W. Caughey's excellent one-volume history of *California,* which appeared first in 1940, came out again, extensively revised, in 1953; nor can this be the end; if such a book is not further revised at regular intervals, as Professor Caughey well knows, it will have to be replaced. R. G. Cleland's *History of California, the American Period,* published in 1922 and adequate for then, had to be supplemented in 1947 by another volume, *California in our Time;* and now both books, if they are to survive as authorities, stand in need of extensive revision.

The difficult task of revision, I should add, involves far more than merely expanding the old story to include new facts and findings. With each revision the present, each successive present, has to be taken into consideration. For history, regardless of popular misconceptions, is a subject eternally new. We search the past for an explanation of the present, which means that as any given present unfolds we must of

necessity start our labors all over again. The task of the historian, like that of Penelope, is never done; we weave our windingsheet, as she wove hers for Laërtes, only to begin the process of re-weaving with the dawn of each new day.

What do Californians in general know about their history? For quiz program purposes probably not very much. What passes for history on these occasions might better, for the most part, be left in the encyclopaedias for handy reference when needed. But as to matters of greater significance I hazard the opinion that Californians who have lived in the state for a decade or two are by no means totally ignorant of its past, or of what its past means to us today. Our children learn about California in the schools, from the elementary grades on up. If they attend a college or a university (and there are no less than 90 such institutions, including junior colleges, within the state today), they get some California history in every American history course they take, and frequently they are also exposed to courses concerned exclusively with the history of California. But much of the history Californians absorb comes to them without benefit of schools or teachers. They see it in the markers and signs that border our highways. They read it in newspapers, in magazines, in books of fact and fiction. They hear it in the movies, and over the radio, and on TV. They find historical reminders in California buildings, from the earliest Spanish missions on down to the latest skyscrapers. They meet up with it in museums, in art galleries, in churches, and in such characteristic spots as Grant Avenue, San Francisco, and Olvera Street, Los Angeles. They sing it in songs handed down and songs newly made. They re-live some outdoor portion of it nearly every day of their lives. Californians can understand what an Englishman means when he says, "There will always be an England," for they know in their hearts, and why, that "There will always be a California."

Woods' Shorter Mountain Trail to San Diego

By Hero Eugene Rensch

September 6. – [From Indian Wells]. . . . We traveled all night and reached Carissa [Carrizo] creek about sunrise. . . .

September 7. – We found our fourteen animals were now very much fatigued. They have had no sleep from Fort Yuma to Carissa, while many of them have come all the way from Tucson in less than eight days; they had had no water for twenty-four hours . . . from Alamo Mucho [Mocho] to this place, Carissa. . . . At nine o'clock when we left, they were very tired, sleepy and unwilling to go.

Under these circumstances, I decided to select the best animals from among our mulada, and push on over the coast range of mountains to San Diego with the mail, taking only one man with me; the coach would come the longer road, by way of Santa Ysabel [and Warner's]. I put this decision in execution about nine o'clock in the morning and reached Vallecita [Vallecito] at 2 p.m., where we procured something to eat, but could get none of the Indians to guide us over the mountains. . . . there was no resource left us but to go on alone; so, *taking minute directions where to find the best trail*, we recommenced our journey, expecting to climb the mountains in time to reach *Lassator's ranch, in one of the valleys*, by or before sunset. Our tired animals proved unequal to the required speed, so that after climbing the steep mule path which led up the mountain for several miles, we camped on our trail, in the middle of a splendid table-land covered with pine trees, situated near the top of the mountains. [Italics are mine.]

The moon came up about 11 o'clock, giving enough light for us to keep the trail; once we chased a star for a mile, thinking it was a light in a hut; finally reaching the ranch without accident, or much detention on the way, at 2 o'clock in the morning. Tried to procure horses at once to proceed on to San Diego, but the animals were all turned out in the valley grazing and could not be had before morning. . . .

September 8. – At 9 o'clock a.m., we left Lassator's ranch with fresh animals, this time mounted on horses. After a toilsome day's journey down the mountain, we reached San Diego at 10 o'clock p.m., bringing the first through mail which had reached here in schedule time. I had come myself from San Antonio to San Diego in thirty-eight days. . . .

September 24. – I contracted today for hay and straw to supply stations we had made on the desert, at Vallecita and Carissa creeks. . . .

October 22. – This morning I despatched two more coaches and fourteen animals heavily laden with every description of supplies for the line. They go round by Carissa creek by the road, while I shall take *the shorter mountain trail* tomorrow. [Italics are mine.]

October 23. – Left San Diego on horseback this morning, accompanied by Mr. Doyle and one of my through passengers. . . .

October 25. – Passed the day in the mountains at our corral, branding a mulada of seventy-five animals, which I had purchased for the line.

October 27. – Reached Carissa creek, the place of rendezvous, early this afternoon, with our mulada; found the coaches waiting. . . .[1]

This brief passage in the *Report* (1858) of Isaiah Churchill Woods, superintendent of the first overland mail route established by the U. S. government June 22, 1857, introduces one of the most puzzling sections of James E. Birch's San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line, namely, "the shorter mountain trail" by which mail carriers went on horseback or on muleback direct from Vallecito to San Diego over the Cuyamaca Mountains, as Gov. Pedro Fages had done 75 years before.[2] The only stopping place on "the shorter mountain trail," mentioned by Woods in the text of his report to Postmaster-General A. V. Brown, was "Lassator's," and he repeatedly emphasized its importance to the mail line: a convenient place to rest and to change animals after the gruelling pull across the desert; rich grazing valleys for stock; abundant hay, cut in these valleys and packed to the line's "place of rendezvous" at Carrizo Creek; and the trail's prospects as a direct coach road from San Diego to Vallecito to eliminate the long run by Warner's, a hope never realized.[3]

On this first centennial of the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line and its principal station, "Lassator's," on "the shorter mountain trail," it is important that we map out the line of this trail to San Diego from the records of Woods' predecessors and contemporaries, together with firsthand knowledge from those who know the mountain trails today.[4]

What was "the best trail" to Lassator's ranch, to which Woods received "minute directions" at Vallecito on the afternoon of September 7th? Woods, himself, does not give a clear answer. The whereabouts of his "steep mule path" and "splendid tableland covered with pine trees" must be determined by the more definite testimonies of other travelers and first settlers in the area.

Woods found himself in an emergency situation when he stopped at

Vallecito. His aim, "get the mail through on time," was threatened by the worn-out condition of his animals. He did not know the mountain country nor the trails which traversed it, and he could not get an Indian to guide him. But there was someone at Vallecito who could give him "minute directions where to find the best trail." At this point, the name of "Lassator's ranch, in one of the valleys," entered the picture and it became Woods' immediate goal.

James Ruler Lassator and his stepsons, Andrew and John Mulkins, had built the sod house at Vallecito early in 1854 and by July were in the business of serving travelers over the southern emigrant route. Then, in the spring of 1857, Lassator went into the Cuyamaca Mountains to take up "160 acres of government land" in the valley which he named "Green Valley."[5] There he and young John Mulkins built the first permanent dwelling in the Cuyamaca Mountains, a substantial stone house[6] on the ancient Indian trail over which Lassator went back and forth between his two places of business, Vallecito (where Andrew Mulkins remained to represent J. R. Lassator & Co.)[7] and Green Valley, or down to San Diego. Farm products from the ranch were soon supplied at the desert station. From the desert, emigrants sometimes drove their half-starved cattle up the trail for a run of Cuyamaca and Green valleys; the valleys' salubrious climate and fine grazing were given a prominent place in his *Report* by Woods in 1858.[8]

When Woods inquired the way over the mountains, it was very likely Andrew Mulkins who directed him to "the best trail" to San Diego, which Woods expected to reach with the mail that night. Where was that trail? It was the one long known to desert and mountain settlers. It was the trail, in fact, over which the veteran mail carrier, Joseph Swycaffer, and his partner, Samuel Warnock, had carried the U. S. army mail, 1854-1857, before the advent of I. C. Woods. The desert Indians followed the trail annually into Cuyamaca Valley, where oak forests were most abundant and where many tribes gathered from desert and mountain villages for the harvest festival and tribal games of contest,[9] and Andrew Mulkins could give Superintendent Woods explicit directions where to find it: Pointing west from the sod house, he would call Woods' attention to the rocky ridge (La Puerta Grade) which intervenes between Vallecito and Mason valleys, and over which the emigrant road passed; on topping the low saddle of this ridge, look northwest, he would tell him, to a high peak in the Cuyamaca Mountains (North Peak), towards which Woods should direct his course;

head straight west and then northwest across the valley to its terminus where the emigrant road forks, the main branch going northwest to Warner's and Santa Ysabel, while "the shorter mountain trail" to San Diego goes west towards the high peak; a little west of the junction he would enter a steep-walled canyon (Oriflamme) through which a well-worn Indian trail winds its way and leads up the mountain into Cuyamaca Valley; at the summit, turn south on this same Indian trail which goes down through low hills into Green Valley; there Woods would find Lassator's new stone house in the center of the valley at the junction of two streams (Sweetwater River and Cold Spring Creek); from the ranch he would secure fresh horses to replace his worn-out mules. How long would it take? From five and a half to six hours.[10]

This ancient trail up Oriflamme Canyon into Cuyamaca and Green valleys is still plainly visible. In Woods' day, it was the one well-known, long-used trail mentioned in diaries and depositions. It was the most traveled because it was more like a natural roadway than any other in the entire area, and it was the only such path which led direct from Vallecito into the Cuyamaca Mountains and Lassator's Green Valley ranch, Woods' immediate goal.

FAGES' CAMINO DE SAN DIEGO

This camino was one of the well-tested trails of the pioneers. It was the Yuma trail of the Indians; "el camino de San Diego" of Gov. Pedro Fages and José Velásquez; the San Diego trail of John E. Durivage, Benjamin Hayes, J. M. Farwell, G. Bailey, Waterman Ormsby, and other travelers over the southern emigrant route during the American period, and was used by the pioneer mail carriers, Joseph Swycaffer, Samuel Warnock, John Hinton, and James McCoy.

The Yuma Indians at the Colorado River crossing, on the lookout for the most natural and direct route from their villages across the desert, had first traced the trail from one watering-place to another down to the warm waters and fishing villages at San Diego Bay.[11] It was first used by white men in the fall of 1772, when deserters from the San Diego presidio, with Governor Fages and his mounted horsemen in pursuit, followed it eastward over the Cuyamacas, down Oriflamme Canyon into Mason Valley and along the Carrizo Corridor. At San Sebastián (near Harper's Well), Father Francisco Garcés, diarist of the Anza Expedition, noted on March 10, 1774, that Fages had already opened this "road from San Diego." It was the same trail described and marked out by Fages himself in his *Diary* of 1782, an account which becomes our first

and most revealing point of reference from which to determine the whole line of this, "the best" and most traveled route over the mountains used during and after his time.[12]

Turning west from the forks of the old San Diego trail at Box Canyon on September 7, 1857, I. C. Woods followed the same path described by Fages when he, too, turned west over the Cuyamacas on April 19, 1782:

> We pursued our journey for about a league along this plain [Mason Valley], when we entered a canyon having steep slopes [Oriflamme]; after going about one league in this we struck a little stream fringed with alder trees. From here we began to ascend a high range, arriving at its summit after winding from hilltop to hilltop for about two leagues, where . . . we noticed that there were numerous groves of pine and other trees in the entire neighborhood. . . .[13]

Fages went over his "road from San Diego" again in the autumn when he returned from the Colorado River to San Diego as governor of California for the second time and held peace conferences with the mountain Indians for about two weeks.[14] The trail was mapped by Alférez José Velásquez in June 1783 on his trip from the presidio of San Diego into Cuyamaca Valley, where he looked down the steep Oriflamme Canyon trail up which Fages had come twice the year before. On his map, Velásquez delineated the whole extent of the Carrizo Corridor, which he called "El Arroyo de San Sebastián." At the summit of the trail he placed the Indian village of "Cuñamác" (his variant of Cuyamác), where he camped on the night of June 2nd.[15] The passage of the trail was again recorded by Velásquez on Governor Fages' fourth and last tour of his "road from San Diego," in May 1785, when his camp was also pitched at the friendly village of "Cuyamác."[16]

Soon after the opening of the Mexican period, Santiago Argüello and Romualdo Pacheco re-learned from the Indians the worth of this proven trail of Pedro Fages through the Carrizo Corridor. Convinced by their reports that it was superior to that of any other desert road to the north or south of it, Gov. José María Echeandía recommended it for the official mail route from Sonora, Mexico, to San Diego in 1826.[17]

THE SAN DIEGO TRAIL

When the American period is reached, this ancient road, named by Garcés in honor of Fages' discovery, was still known as the San Diego Trail. Through the Carrizo Corridor it flowed as one great river of travel and trade in pioneer historic times as it had in prehistoric times. At its northwestern terminus in Mason Valley, the main trail branched,

flowing in two streams, one northwest and the other west.[18] This was the junction of the two branches of the San Diego Trail which became a point of major historical interest in the story of the first overland mail route from the United States in 1857. Here the stagecoaches of the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line continued northwest through Box Canyon by the longer wagon road to San Diego via Warner's rancho and Santa Ysabel. The other branch went west and then southwest direct to San Diego by way of what Superintendent Woods called "the shorter mountain trail." Through the natural roadway of Oriflamme Canyon and over the Cuyamacas, it was the same path as Fages' old "camino de San Diego."

This was the path followed by mail carriers on horseback or on mule-back, from 1854 to 1861. It was specifically spoken of as "the San Diego Trail" by a few travelers of 1849 and the 1850's when they came to the point where "the roads fork." No such statements are found about any other mountain trail from Vallecito to San Diego. The testimony of travelers at the Box Canyon junction, coupled with that of mail carriers coming down from Cuyamaca Valley into Mason Valley, shows that this was the path recommended on September 7, 1857, to Woods at Vallecito as "the best trail" to Lassator's ranch and San Diego.

The first and most graphic of these eyewitness accounts is that of the journalist, John E. Durivage, who went that way on June 28, 1849. His description delineates the line of the trail at this point and is strikingly reminiscent of that of Fages 67 years before. At Vallecito provisions were nearly exhausted and, like Woods 8 years later, he and his companions decided to move on "towards evening, for San Diego," but, unlike Woods, he procured an Indian guide and started at 5 o'clock. Climbing the steep hill of La Puerta Grade, they crossed Mason Valley. Here, at the end of the Carrizo Corridor, Durivage wrote [italics are mine]:

> Near the westerly termination of this valley the roads fork. The main road to San Felipe, Warner's rancho, and Los Angeles branches off to the north, while *the mule path to San Diego goes to the west*.... By looking at Col. Emory's map, our route may easily be traced. It was to the south of the heavily drawn mountains upon which Warner's rancho is placed, passing between that and a more southerly ridge of equally formidable character, *through a deep and winding cañada* [Oriflamme].
>
> Soon after hauling off from the main road we entered this cañada.... The hills, or mountains, rising abruptly on either side to a great height.... *we wound our way through the narrow defile*....

Our ascent was gradual for the entire distance, and it was twelve o'clock when we stopped for the night on a high peak of the mountains. . . .[19]

– reminding one of Fages' words: "winding from hilltop to hilltop, we ascended a high range."

Four other travelers through the corridor spoke of this junction of the 2 branches of the San Diego Trail at the entrance to Box Canyon. Benjamin Hayes passed through Vallecito and Mason valleys early in January 1850, on his way to the northern mines. As he and his party entered Box Canyon, he jotted down this significant comment in his *Diary:* To the left of the road, the mule trail to San Diego turns west over the high mountains.[20]

Similar observations were made by 3 passengers in Butterfield stagecoaches in the fall of 1858. On coming down from Warner's Pass, G. Bailey wrote in his *Report* to Postmaster-General Brown, that the road connected at "Carrizo Creek with the old San Diego Trail which it follows to Fort Yuma."[21] The first passenger from the east on a Butterfield coach was Waterman Ormsby, special correspondent for the New York *Herald.* With Warren Hall in the driver's seat, they passed the Vallecito station about October 6th and climbed over "a steep and stony hill" (La Puerta Grade) into Mason Valley, traversing it to its western extremity. At this point, Ormsby noted that "our road strikes the San Diego road, and proceeds through a narrow pass [Box Canyon]."[22] More explicitly, J. M. Farwell, describing his trip from Los Angeles that same October, says that after leaving Box Canyon, the road, on opening into Mason Valley, "is intersected by the San Diego Trail over which the mail is carried to and from that place."[23]

Testimony by the mail carriers themselves verified this route; for example, that of Joseph Swycaffer, mentioned above. Before I interviewed his son, Jeff Swycaffer, early in 1950, I had been told that the mail was carried over the Indian trail which came up Cottonwood Creek into the Laguna Mountains. Very positively Jeff corrected me: "No! The mail was not carried that way. John Hinton told me that he carried the mail down into Mason Valley in an easterly direction from Cuyamaca Valley. I knew John Hinton well and placed full confidence in what he said."[24]

When I later found Hinton's "Reminiscences" in the Huntington Library and read what he said in his own words, Jeff's statement was corroborated: "The route followed was . . . through Green Valley

(Lassator's ranch), then up past what is now Stonewall Mine, down to the Vallecitos. . . . When I first commenced carrying this route I rode with James McCoy."[25] One cannot possibly interpret his words to mean that he deviated from Cuyamaca Valley to the head of the Cottonwood trail, 5 miles to the southeast, before he went "down to the Vallecitos." On the other hand, Oriflamme Canyon lies immediately below Cuyamaca Valley to the east, and from the eastern edge of *that* valley the trail runs at once down the mountain.

When I read the affidavit of Hinton's companion, James McCoy, in Hayes' *Exceptions to the Cuyamaca Grant,* he further clarified the line of the trail, and agreed with both John Hinton and Jeff Swycaffer when he said in 1870:

> On this route, I left the present wagon road a little above Mulkins' [formerly Lassator's] and struck into the edge of Cuyamaca Valley, and then turned eastward, leaving Rattlesnake Valley to our right until we reached the wagon road going from San Felipe rancho to Vallecitos.[26]

This junction with the wagon road from San Felipe was, of course, at the mouth of Box Canyon where the old San Diego Trail joined the southern emigrant route, as Durivage, Hayes, Farwell, Bailey, and Ormsby said it did.

Finally, the testimony of Joseph Swycaffer, himself, bore out everything his son Jeff had said and fitted in with the statements of John Hinton and James McCoy:

> I have traveled from Green Valley to the foothills of the Vallecitos, to the east of the Laguna Seca with a U. S. Mail. . . . Starting from Green Valley I took an old Indian trail northerly, through the hills shown on the map to a point opposite, or nearly so, to the Laguna que se seca, in an easterly direction, where the trail runs down the mountain, some six miles from the Laguna que se seca; . . . On my return I came up through the Cuyamaca Valley, and always traveled this last route afterwards; I carried the mail about three years.[27]

From this it is clear that nothing intervened between the eastern edge of Cuyamaca Valley and Swycaffer's "point opposite, or nearly so, to the Laguna que se seca," and the place "where the trail runs down the mountain." Joseph Swycaffer did not deviate either north or south, but went straight east down Oriflamme Canyon. "Laguna que se seca" (Cuyamaca Lake after the dam was completed in 1888) lay just north of the site of the later Stonewall Mine, from which it is 6 miles to the mouth of Box Canyon, where Swycaffer also met the wagon road coming down from Warner's ranch and San Felipe.

This was the end of the Carrizo Corridor where Pedro Fages 3 times turned west out of Mason Valley into the steep-walled canyon of the Oriflamme. Here at the "forks" of the later emigrant road, John Durivage took "the mule path to San Diego" by way of that same "deep and winding cañada." This was the point on the overland trail where Benjamin Hayes saw the mule trail to San Diego turn west over the high mountains. It was the intersection with the San Diego Trail "over which," as Farwell noted, "the mail is carried to and from that place." John Hinton and James McCoy, traveling together in 1859, here "reached the wagon road going from San Felipe rancho to Vallecitos."

WOODS' "BEST TRAIL"

Durivage and Hayes in 1849 and '50; Swycaffer and Warnock, 1854 to '57; Bailey, Farwell and Ormsby in 1858; Hinton and McCoy in 1859. The logical conclusion is that this junction on the San Diego Trail was the crucial point in the "minute directions where to find the best trail," which were given to I. C. Woods at Vallecito on his history-making trip to San Diego with the mail, September 7 to 8, 1857. Like Fages and Durivage, he turned west at this point and entered the natural roadway of Oriflamme Canyon and from there climbed "the steep mule path" directly into Cuyamaca Valley.

Unable to reach Lassator's ranch by sundown with his worn-out mules, Woods "camped" on the trail in "the midst of a splendid tableland covered with pine trees."[28] This was the same Cuyamaca Valley in which Fages paused 65 years before, to observe the "numerous groves of pine and other trees in the entire neighborhood."[29] In the early days, pine grew in greater abundance on the floor of Cuyamaca Valley. Many were cut for construction at Stonewall Mine, just to the south, after 1870,[30] and after the Cuyamaca Dam was completed in 1888,[31] water covered a good part of the valley floor, thus destroying the remaining trees; but some 4 or 5 old stumps around the boundary of the lake are evidence that trees once grew there. Pines still flourish in the low hills to the north and south, and young trees are growing up toward the east where fires once swept through.[32]

Starting from the junction of Sweetwater River and Cold Spring Creek at the center of Green Valley, where the Lassator-Mulkins stone house had stood, Granville Martin and I drove in a jeep over the Indian trail. We passed the site of Stonewall Mine, then struck into the edge of Cuyamaca Valley where we turned east, leaving Rattlesnake Valley on our right. At a point opposite the old "Laguna que se seca" (the part of

Cuyamaca Lake just north of the mine), we reached the place "where the trail runs down the mountain," as Joseph Swycaffer said.[33]

After crossing the Sunrise Highway,[34] at about one-fourth mile we encountered vast thickets of brush where, it is said, in former years there were pine trees since destroyed by fire. Leaving the jeep, we forced our way through the chaparral. Granville knew just where to find the old trail, which is free of brush and deeply worn. Thickets encroach upon it from either side, but it is the same open path once trod by Indians and deserters; by Fages and his mounted horsemen; by Durivage, the forty-niner; by those hardy first settlers, James Ruler Lassator and John Wesley Mulkins; and by carriers of the U. S. mail. This was the "Yuma Trail"; Fages' "road from San Diego"; the old "San Diego Trail"; and Woods' "shorter mountain trail" of the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line.

Following the path down the mountain a mile or so, we came to a point where we could look into the steep-walled canyon described by Fages in April 1782 and by Durivage in June 1849. Everett Campbell called it a "natural roadway before the great flood of 1916 washed it out." Granville Martin has been all the way over the trail 3 times in recent years. The winding cañada leading out of Mason Valley is still negotiable with caution, he says; there are 1 or 2 bad spots in the slick bedrock and a high point in the creek.

"From the point where Lassator's hay road leaves the canyon to where the Fages trail ascends the hills," Martin notes that "there are many parts of the old trail along the sides of the arroyo; and around the alisos ('alder trees') rocks are ground smooth with Indian morteros and metates." On his last trip on March 17, 1957, he took special notice of these Indian signs, which identify this as one of the ancient, well-traveled Indian trails over the mountains from the desert.[35]

Lassator's "hay road," a later variant of the San Diego Trail, was an important link in the story of I. C. Woods' "shorter mountain trail." Opened on the ridge just north of Oriflamme Canyon in October 1857, it roughly paralleled the old San Diego Trail through the canyon. At its east and west extremities, the two coincided: (1) from the Box Canyon junction on the east to the point where Lassator's road left Oriflamme Canyon for the ridge; and (2) on the west, where the older trail crossed the line of the present Sunrise Highway.[36] From here, Lassator's road followed the old San Diego Trail through Cuyamaca Valley and down Stonewall Creek into Green Valley.

Superintendent Woods was ambitious for the efficiency of the mail line he served, and on September 13th he sent an exploring party into the mountains east of San Diego to examine the possibilities for a shorter coach road to take the place of the circuitous route by way of Warner's and Santa Ysabel. The party returned on the 18th with the report that a trail (no doubt the later Lassator road) had been found which they considered "could be made an excellent road with a moderate outlay of labor." Should this prove feasible, Woods' dreams for his "shorter mountain trail" would be realized in a shorter coach road over the Cuyamacas. He stressed this in his *Report*, under date of October 22nd: "this morning I despatched two more coaches and fourteen animals heavily laden with every description of supplies for the line. They go round by Carissa creek by the road, while I shall take the shorter mountain trail to-morrow."[37]

Preparations for both the coach and mail services of the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line out of San Diego had occupied Woods for six weeks, September 8th to October 22nd. He had arranged for passengers to go by coach over the longer road via Santa Ysabel and Warner's, while the mail would be carried over "the shorter mountain trail." The last of the coaches were dispatched on October 22nd, and Woods, accompanied by Robert E. Doyle, agent for the western division of the mail line, took "the shorter mountain trail on horseback the next day." At Lassator's ranch, where the company's stock was pastured, Woods wrote on October 25th: "Passed the day in the mountains at our corral branding a mulada of seventy-five animals which I had purchased for the line."[38]

Now, on his way east to meet the coaches at the Carrizo Creek station, the line's "place of rendezvous," Woods noted, with confidence and satisfaction, the beginnings of the shorter road over which he believed his coaches would soon travel. Riding down the old trail out of Cuyamaca Valley into Oriflamme Canyon, he must have been pleased to see a large party of Indians, under Mr. Lassator's supervision,[39] at work on a road along the ridge above the canyon trail. This was the shorter road over which he hoped to see his coaches travel before many months had passed, and was the only one Lassator ever made. Woods' statement that, at the top of the mountain, "We there descend by a mule path several miles,"[40] clarifies for us, 100 years later, the line of "the shorter mountain trail" which he followed on two occasions. One is reminded of the "steep mule path" up which his worn-out mules labored on the

night of September 7th, on his way to Lassator's Green Valley ranch and thence to San Diego with the first mail to reach the end of the long overland journey on schedule time. This observation, coupled with Woods' other statement that, on his way east on October 27th, he saw Lassator's Indians working on the road (which he could see from the mule path) is further evidence that his "steep mule path" of September 7th was the same "mule path" which he descended almost two months later.

The dream that "the shorter mountain trail" would become the shorter mountain coach road was never realized. The untimely death of James E. Birch, founder of the line on September 12, 1857,[41] and the award of the mail contract to the Butterfield Co., curtailed operations, and the Civil War ended all mail services by the southern route. But Lassator's road, which grew out of Woods' dream, continued to operate from 1857 to 1861, and later. "The best hay of the whole line" was cut in Cuyamaca Valley meadows and sledded down Lassator's road into Mason Valley, where it was transported to desert stations. On April 1, 1861, it became a part of road district No. 3, created by the county board of supervisors at the same meeting at which J. R. Lassator was appointed road supervisor of the district, an office to which he was re-appointed in 1862 and 1863. On the U. S. *Patent* map for the Cuyamaca Rancho survey, Lassator's road appeared as "The Old Mulkins Road From Cuyamaca To Fort Yuma," when John Mulkins used the road much as his stepfather had. Today, the U. S. forest service truck-trail, or Camp Hark road, climbs up Oriflamme Canyon between Fages' trail below it to the south, and Lassator's old sled road above it on the north: visible reminders of that ancient "road from San Diego," over which Fages first passed in 1772.

A CENTENNIAL DEDICATION

This study has shown that records from Fages' day to the time of Woods and Lassator — a period of more than one hundred years, 1772-1874[42] — prove that the trail used by Fages was the same trail followed by the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line, 1857-1861. Where Fages and his soldados de cuera paused to talk to friendly Indians, or to pitch camp for the night in 1782 and 1785, the remote stations of the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line were planted by enterprising pioneers like James Ruler Lassator, Julian Sandoval, William Williams, and Julian Ames.[43] The old San Diego Trail, first named by Fr. Francisco Garcés in honor of Pedro Fages in 1774 (note 12 above), was the same

path over which the carriers of the U. S. mails went on horseback or on muleback by way of the Carrizo Corridor and Oriflamme Canyon into Cuyamaca Valley, down to Lassator's station and on to San Diego. It was "the best trail," the proven trail of the pioneers to which I. C. Woods was given "minute directions" at Vallecito on the afternoon of September 7, 1857.

On this first centennial of James E. Birch's mail line and its first and principal station, "Lassator's," on Woods' "shorter mountain trail," it is fitting that the long history of the trail, as revealed in the old records, be preserved, and its landmarks appropriately memorialized.[44] The name of James Ruler Lassator, first permanent white settler in the Cuyamaca Mountains, builder and keeper of the station, should be honored with that of Gov. Pedro Fages, discoverer and first rider of the San Diego Trail, and Superintendent Isaiah C. Woods, the man who made "the shorter mountain trail" famous in the annals of the U. S. mails. Woods' record-making trip and his choice of "Lassator's" in Green Valley as the mail line's first and principal mountain station, placed this trail in one more primary record when he made his enthusiastic *Report* to Postmaster-General Brown in 1858.

A long history is tied together by the slender thread of this ancient trail. We have seen how the many-sided story goes back to prehistoric times and integrates the part played by the Indian people with that of the pioneer white man, to whom it was of strategic importance in the period of colonization and early communications – in the long search for a practical overland road into California by the southern route. With its varied human content, the true story of Fages' San Diego Trail, which the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line followed, gives it top rank in the recital of California's historic connections with the outside world.

NOTES

1. Isaiah Churchill Woods, *Report . . . U. S. Overland Mail Route between San Antonio, Texas, and San Diego, California* (Washington, 1858), pp. 21-22, 23-24. Woods was in Calif. as the partner of D. H. Haskell, representing Adams & Co. of N. Y., 1849. On Haskell's return east, Woods became president of the company in Calif. In 1854, James E. Birch consolidated most northern Calif. stage lines into the Calif. Stage Co. and Woods gave the bulk of Adams' shipments to Birch. The

latter showed his confidence in Woods when he appointed him superintendent of the S. A. & S. D. Mail Line, June 23, 1857, the day after Birch received his overland mail contract from the government. It would seem, in Birch's opinion, that Woods was not to blame for the failure of Adams & Co. in 1855.

2. H. E. Rensch, "Fages' Crossing of the Cuyamacas," *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, XXXIV (Sept. 1955), 193-208.

3. Woods, *op. cit., passim.*

4. Granville Martin, Jeff Swycaffer, Everett Campbell, Tom Lucas, Charles Kelly, Guy Fleming, Harvey Moore, Irving Lee Palmer, Westley Beadle.

5. Rensch, "Lassator's in Green Valley," *San Diego Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, III (April 1957), 18-24; San Diego County assessment papers and tax rolls, 1854-1863; [Hayes] *Exceptions to the Survey of the Cuyamaca Grant* (San Francisco, 1873), p. 61, Carlos Eschrich affidavit.

6. National archives, records of the gen. land office, R.G. 49, Calif. private land claim 482, exhibit No. 18, John W. Mulkins affidavit, Aug. 16, 1870; Rensch, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

7. San Diego *Herald*, Aug. 8, 1857; San Diego County tax rolls, 1860-63; *U. S. Census*, 1860; Lillian Enos, interview, Oct. 11-12, 1955.

8. Woods, *op. cit.*, pp. 37-38.

9. Tom Lucas, interview, April 2, 1950; Charles Kelly, interview, Oct. 22, 1956; Melicent Humason Lee, *Indians of the Oaks* (San Francisso, 1937), pp. 199-206.

10. Granville Martin, letter from Alpine, Calif., March 1957; Rensch, note 2 above, *passim;* Rensch, note 5 above, pp. 20-21.

11. A. R. Johnston, "Journal . . .," 30th Cong., *Ex. Doc.* 41 (Washington, 1848), p. 612. As he passed along the Carrizo Corridor with the Kearny expedition in Nov. 1846, following the Yuma trail westward, he wrote: "The constant seeing of pieces of pottery shows that Indians have traversed it time out of mind." Malcolm Rogers, in *The California Deserts, a Visitor's Handbook* (Stanford Univ. Press, 1933), p. 129: "Today over the dark malpais lands of the Colorado Desert these narrow cleared pathways wind their tortuous ways, enduring records of ancient travel."

12. Herbert E. Bolton, "In the South San Joaquin ahead of Garcés," this QUARTERLY, X (Sept. 1931), 212-19, *passim;* Herbert I. Priestley, ed. & tr., "The Colorado River Campaign, 1781-82, Diary of Pedro Fages," Acad. Pac. Coast Hist., *Publs.*, III (May 1913), 133-233; Bolton, *Anza's California Expeditions* (Berkeley, 1930), I, 147, and II, 339, 369-70; Rensch, note 2 above, *passim.*

13. Priestley, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

14. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), I, 383-84; Bolton, tr. & ed., *Historical Memoirs of New California by Fray Francisco Paloú* (Berkeley, 1926), IV, 404-408.

15. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, 1, 454 and note; José Velásquez, "Diario y Mapa de un reconocimiente desde S. Diego, 1783" (manuscript in Spanish, Bancroft Library), Provincial State Papers, IV, 404-408.

16. Bancroft, *idem;* Velásquez, "Diario . . .," San Diego, 1785 (note 15 above), V, 188-210.

17. George W. Beattie, "Reopening the Anza Road," *Pac. Hist. Rev.*, II (March 1933), 62-63, 66-67; Dept. State Papers, Sacramento (manuscripts in Bancroft Library), I, 52-53; *ibid.*, XIX, 24-26, "Reports" of Gov. José María Echeandía to the minister of war, Mexico, Feb. 1826.

18. Rensch, note 2 above, p. 199.

19. John E. Durivage, "Through Mexico to California, Letters and Journal . . .," in *Southern Trails to California in 1849*, Ralph P. Bieber, ed. (Glendale, 1937), V, 159-255. Further study is needed to determine which Indian trail Durivage followed from this point, whether on through Green Valley or along the north side of North Peak to Santa Isabel. The route from Box Canyon and up the Oriflamme is, however, set down in unmistakable and graphic terms, as it was by Fages in 1782. *See also* W. H. Emory, *Notes of a Military Reconnaisance from Fort Leavenworth, in Missouri, to San Diego . . .* (Washington, 1848), map.

20. Benjamin Hayes, "Diary of an Emigrant over the Colorado Desert Trail, 1849-1850" (manuscript in Bancroft Library).

21. G. Bailey, "Report to Postmaster General . . .," 35th Cong., *Sen. Ex. Doc.* (Washington, 1858), II, 735-41.

22. Waterman L. Ormsby, *The Butterfield Overland Mail . . . Only Through-Passenger on the First Westbound Stage*, ed. by Lyle H. Wright and Josephine M. Bynum (Huntington Library, 1942), p. 109.

23. J. M. Farwell, letter from Fort Yuma, Oct. 21, 1858, *Alta California*, Nov. 8, 1858, clipping in Hayes "Scraps," R.104, No. 109 (Bancroft Library).

24. Jeff Swycaffer, interview, Feb. 12, 1950.

25. John B. Hinton, "Reminiscences of Arizona and California, 1853-1868" (manuscript in Huntington Library).

26. [Hayes] *Exceptions . . .*, note 5 above, p. 20, affidavit of James McCoy, 1870.

27. *Ibid.*, p. 60, affidavit of Joseph Swycaffer, 1873. Mail carriers occasionally deviated from their normal route, and Joseph Swycaffer seems once to have taken a trail to the southeast when he went "near the Laguna Grande" (in the Laguna Mts.). But he was quick to state that "on my return I came up through the Cuyamaca Valley, and always traveled this last route afterwards."

28. Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

29. Priestley, *op. cit.*, p. 227.

30. Granville Martin, Irving Lee Palmer, Guy Fleming, Harvey Moore.

31. F. D. Waite, ed., *San Diego, the City and County. Soil, Water Supply . . .* (San Diego, 1888), pp. 32-33.

32. Granville Martin, note 10 above.

33. We followed the same path and noted the same landmarks as those mentioned by the mail carriers, John Hinton and James McCoy, and Joseph Swycaffer, as they went from Green Valley to Cuyamaca Valley and down the Oriflamme, 1854 to 1859.

34. Rensch, note 2 above, p. 200; U. S. *Patent* map, 1874.

35. Martin, note 10 above.

A recent, on-the-ground survey by Glenn Price, supervisor, Will Rogers State Park, and Jack Welch, supervisor, Anza Desert State Park, resulted in the following conclusion regarding "the path of travel from the desert to Green Valley"; namley, Cottonwood Canyon "is so narrow and steep that it would have been a major feat. Oriflamme, on the contrary, is relatively an easy route to travel. . . . And the documentary evidence makes it virtually certain." Glenn Price, letter, May 15, 1957.

36. Note 34 above.

37. Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 23. 38. *Ibid.*, p. 24.

39. *Ibid.*, p. 32; E. W. Morse, Day Book, Nov. 2, 1857, p. 32 (manuscript in Junipero Serra Museum, San Diego). J. R. Lassator is charged with a "bill of goods on road account."

40. Woods, *op. cit.*, p. 38.

41. William and George Hugh Banning, *Six Horses* (New York, 1928), p. 97.

42. Manuscripts in Spanish or translations by Bolton and by Priestley, covering the Fages period of exploration, are cited in this study and in the author's previous article (note 2 above), pp. 205-208, with primary emphasis on the Fages *Diary*, 1782, which mapped the line of his "road from San Diego." Lassator's "hay road" was shown on the U. S. *Patent* map of 1874, as "The Old Mulkins Road from Cuyamaca to Fort Yuma."

43. *The Texas Almanac for 1859 . . . Overland mail route between San Antonio, Texas, and San Diego, California*, pp. 139-50.

44. It is true that Woods used mules for coach and mail services as well as for transportation of supplies. But, aside from the fact that a mule is not a jackass, there is no excuse for the term, "Jackass Mail," as applied to the Birch line by some 20th-century writers, a term first used derisively by a San Francisco newspaper editor in 1857 to express the feeling in that city when San Diego was made the line's terminus. In fact, the epithet has been so frequently applied, or misapplied, as almost to eliminate the real name – the San Antonio and San Diego Mail Line.

The Hulbert-Walker Letters

To California via Nicaragua in 1852

Edited by Elizabeth W. Martin

FOREWORD. – Eri B. Hulbert (3/11/1807–6/9/1852), the older of the two men selections from whose letters are here published for the first time, had been a merchant in Chicago since 1836. In that year he had left his home in Burlington Flats, Otsego County, N. Y., and had joined his brothers-in-law, Almond and Charles Walker, wholesale dealers in groceries, calicoes, socks, mittens, letter paper, threshing-machines, wagons, neck yokes, etc., in Chicago.* The partnership was dissolved in 1841, but Hulbert continued to do business there as a merchant, and, with his wife, the former Miss Mary Louisa Walker also of Otsego County, and their sons, entered with enthusiasm into the business and religious life of the city.

Eri B. Hulbert's determination to leave his adopted city had been brought about by 2 circumstances: in 1851, fire destroyed his business properties in Chicago, subjecting him to continuous harassment by his creditors and to the burden of high interest charges; and, in the second place, news reached him from men returning home for their families that fortunes were being made in California. Hulbert made up his mind that he too would go to the west coast and try his hand at the leather business, in or near San Francisco. His father Ambrose Hulbert and his younger half-brother Sheldon agreed to lend him $335 with which to pay for his transportation, a Singer Sewing Machine, and a life-insurance policy. Mrs. Hulbert, 3 years his junior, surprised her husband with a farewell gift of a money-belt, in which she had sewed $55 in gold pieces. The rental of their Chicago home was to provide a frugal living, in the vicinity of Burlington Flats, N. Y., for herself and their children until he could send for them; but, as the letters show, death overtook him before he reached his destination.

While he was still in New York, preparatory to sailing, his wife had written him: "O my dear husband life is so short and uncertain it seems very hard that we must be so long separated . . . do write me very often and write particulars." The reader will find that he heeded her request and that he seemed to have a

*Four of Eri B. Hulbert's letters, written on Nov. 10 and Dec. 29, 1836, and on Feb. 16 and May 21, 1837, were published in the July 1935 issue of the *Journ. Illinois State Hist. Soc.*, pp. 100-109, Elizabeth Wyant, ed. Biographical information on Hulbert and his family is there given in some detail.

talent for "particulars" of interest. The same applies to the letters of his young nephew, William W. Walker. Seldom have the extreme difficulties as well as beauties of the Nicaragua crossing received such detailed treatment.

The editor of the letters is the great-granddaughter of Eri B. Hulbert, and a complete file of the originals is in her possession; typescripts have been placed in the library of the California Historical Society and in the Bancroft Library, University of California, Berkeley. We are grateful to Mrs. Martin for permission to publish the following excerpts. [Ed.]

THE LETTERS†

Howard Hotel N York
Wednesday Apl 28th 1852

My dear Louisa

I arrived here in this hum an Bee Hive yesterday morning about 8 Oclk A.M. and during the day ran my legs almost off in running from one Vessill to another in the North and East Rivers that were up for San Francisco, found some going in 3 or 4 days, others in 3 or 4 weeks, but I could not find any that I wanted to go in, that was going under 3 or 4 weeks as they said and I should think as many months would elapse if they wait to get them loaded, and none of them would give any encouragement of arriving at S.F. in less than 4 to 6 months and then the idea of so long a delay before arriving at the destined *Port* rather stagered me, and after going to bed last night about 7 Oclk with out any supper in consequence of drinking a glass of water that made me sick, I went to meditating and dreaming and finally concluded I would not go by the Horn, unless I could get a passage on the Steamer Brother Johnathan which sails on 1st May, to supply the place of the N. America which was lost, so I went down to Allens office this morning as soon as I got my breakfast and found I could get a passage on her but they would not take a pound of freight, and said she would be at least 3 months in making the trip and perhaps four. It would depend a good deal on the state of the weather and the time that it took to coal at the stopping places.

They were anxious to sell tickets as they were not full, but would not take less than $200 for steerage, and while we were in the office, a Mr Hollister who keeps the Philadelphia House came in to make enquiry

†Original spelling and punctuation have been preserved, except in instances where the meaning might otherwise be obscure. Unintentional capitalization, due to peculiarities of handwriting, has been eliminated and occasional paragraphing introduced.

if they would sell two tickets for him, that he had bought for some friends who did not want to go till the 20th June. His tickets were for the 5th May by the Steamer Northern Light on this side and the S S Lewis on the other side. So I told him I would buy the tickets, if he would make $10. discount on each, get them transferred, and our names inserted, and that we liked the steamer and the berths. So after going and examining the steamer we were satisfied, went back and had the whole business done up as talked in Vanderbilts office. And now we are up and off for California on the 5th of May, by said Northern Light and S S Lewis (nothing happening). The said Northern Light arrived in Port last evening about 9 oclk with some 300 passengers. *Lots* of *Gold Dust* and as passengers Mr Thompson the calker & pitcher, the one that owned the Beers farm on the River at Bridgeport. I think his name is John, from him I learned all about the Chicago boys, the chances of making money, the advantages as to Tanning, the health of country &c &c, and I can tell you he set me up pretty high, and the road to wealth is pretty clear if I have my health and any kind of luck.

He says tanning, harness making and Boot making will be the tallest kind of business. He says old harnesses that has crossed the Plain, when repaired, brings $50 and that no new ones are made there, for the reason that they cannot get the Leather. That hides are abundant and in the cities are worth 4¢ each largest kind, sometimes 6¢ that he thought of going in to the business and shiping, but some one else went into it and they went up to 6¢ so he did not buy any, but now they are 4¢. In the country away from the cities they throw them away. There are abundance of hides. The cattle run wild and are caught besides many are drove across the plains, he says a man can get rich at any kind of business if he will attend to it, he has been in the provision business, is now after his family with some 10 or 12 more in that region and is going back across the Plains. He tells the largest kind of stories about the agricultural products of that country, equal to anything you have seen in print. . . . that they have green vegetables at all seasons, plant at any time and so keep it going, markets never bare. . . .

All the tickets are sold up to the 20 June inclusive and yesterday they were buying steerage tickets for the 20 June without berths and paying 200$ the lowest they will sell at the office Ours we paid 190$ each, $10 each less than Hollister gave for them. I have felt somewhat disapointed in not being able to carry all my calculations into effect but I do not know but it will be for the best

In the first place I wanted a sewing machine and ticking enough to make 1000 ticks and sew them on the way, that has fallen through, for sundry reasons. Next Mr Singer will not sell me a machine less than $125 and I do not know that I can get it across the Isthmus. I have no idea but that it will be a source of wealth to me even at that price, he showed me various kinds of work that it had done. Also showed me how it would work on leather, he took 3 thicknesses of cow hide and stiched it says the harness makers does all of their nice stiching with it. One fellow took one to California and wrote he had made $20 a day with it ever since he had been there the only one that has gone there. I think I shall buy one yet, but mean to get it cheaper if I can and not buy till the last minit. Then again I wanted to get a set of Tan & Curries Tools and a few tons of catichu [catechu, a valuable tannin, from *Acacia catechu*] but that I shall not be able to do. I mean to get the tools thru some how if possible. . . .

Howard Hotel N York
Saturday May 1st 1852

My dear Louisa

This is a rainy day. Morning Papers all read, and I have nothing to do but to converse a while with you, although my feelings partake somewhat of the weather (rather gloomy) Still my thoughts are on home, *sweet home.*

You may think it rather strange my not carrying out my determinations (before leaving home) of taking passage around the Horn. I fully determined to do so, untill the second day after my arrival. But when I had examined all the Vessells that were up for Cala and examined their second cabin accomadations, for which they charged from $150 to $250 according the stateliness of the ship, accompanied with the idea of being cooped up with from 50 to 250 persons from 4 to 6 months with such accomadations as we could get, being exposed to the inclemency of winter, its dangers, the probability of being detained a month or two this side of the Horn awaiting winters disappearance, the refusal to give me any encouragement of working my machine on ship board or place my freight in an accessable position in the hold, the extra cost of machine, the want of means to purchase all that I wanted, if I went that way the opportunity presenting itself so soon for my passage by Vanderbilts Line across the Isthmus with other things combined, caused me at once to change my predetermined course, and to my mind was the indications of Providence, still the end is ahead, when and where we cannot tell. I have an appointment this P.M 2 oclk with the Life Insur-

ance Physician for examination. Shall get a policy of $1000 for the benefit of Father H & Sheldon as far as their advances, and balance for you. Should double it if I had the means to spare, it costs $40. When I get to Cala and get the means I may increase it to $5000, think I shall.

Yesterday P M at the urgent solicitation of Wm W W [William W. Walker, his nephew], although suffering under an awful head ache, (which by the by has been almost continuous since the morning I left home) we went into Barnums Museum, and there I found an Electric Magnetic Machine in operation, and some how I felt a strong inclination to take a few shocks. Walked up, put my hands on the bar, and almost instantly my head ceased acheing, and I continued it till my system was pretty well filled or charged for I could feel it in my arms for a long time afterwards, since which I have had no headache and think the 2¢ pretty well spent. . . .

New York May 3 1852

Dear Chas [Charles Walker, former business partner]

. . . inasmuch as I have changed my calculations about the way of going, I thought it prudent at least to go and see for myself before embarrassing myself or friends, although the feasibility of my plans in relation to Tanning &c has increased ten fold since I came here. . . .

After considering the whole matter, I have come to the following conclusions, viz That I will first get there myself, and have the dangers of passage over, my own mind upon the practicability of the business, find out whether catichu [catechu] cannot be obtained there at less expense than to ship from here, and finally to find out all the detail and minutie of the business before I attempt to embark in it, or any portion of it.

There is this fact about it, if I conclude to engage in it after arriving, it will have been delayed some 60 or 80 days at the most.

I have not the least doubt about it, but I wish to move prudently.

I had a long talk with Messrs Patridge & son the Catechu Importers, and they were anxious to ship me 10 tons at least, thought there was no risk in it, stated that a correspondent of theirs in San Francisco wrote them that there were 5000 hides in that city *dried* that he could buy at 1¼ cents per lbs, that they sent him a letter of credit to draw on them for the purchase money but when said correspondent came to get at the Ware House Charges, Shipping Charges, Freight &c, it would not pay, and so did not buy them. . . .

If on my arrival I should find things as I anticipate a letter of Credit might be of some service and perhaps I might make money for you and myself in buying Hides and shipping to N York as soon as I arrive, and before getting into the tanning business. . . .

Do not send at all unless you have the most unlimated confidence, and desire it on your own account, as I am quite confident of my success if I live to get there and have my health, and hope soon to be able to square all matters with friends & creditors. . . .

I am yours &c E B Hulbert

Monday Evening May 3rd 1852

My Dear Wife

Another day has passed and I am well and feel as well as could be expected under my lonely circumstances. I have got my life assurance to day bought Eri & George each a book, got my likeness taken, got my matrass needles . . . purchased a present for *you my dear* which I hope will be acceptable and useful, should purchased more if I had the means to spare but you will please accept the small token of affectionate regard for the present. I hope and pray that God may bless and prosper me more abundantly in my new undertaking and that my family may not longer be reduced to the straights which they have been in days past. . . .

Tomorrow I shall purchase the sewing machine, have to pay $125 the lowest he will sell one for. I shall pack all the clothes I can around it, fill my India Rubber Bag and the balance return in my trunk by express to Utica. You will find the presents &c in the trunk, will give you a memorandum of contents in this letter.

May 4th

Tuesday noon, I got my machine and got all things into it it held more than I expected, so you will find nothing but the under shirt and drawers I put on before I left home and the presents to you and the children, the key is tied to the trunk under the lock leather. I would fill the trunk with useful articles if I could. My likeness you will find in the present I purchased for you. I have an opportunity of sending this today by Mr Bush and so hasten to finish it. I can think of nothing more, only we leave tomorrow at at 3 oclk and probaly you will not hear from me again till I get to the Isthmus So good by, Good by, Good by my Dear Louisa

Kiss the children for me. . . . E B Hulbert

But one letter from home yet

Mrs E B Hulbert Burlington Flats
Otsego County New York

San Juan del Sur (Pacific Side)
Isthmus Sunday May 30th 1852

My Dear Louisa

Here I am on this Lords day midst Heathendom of the worst kind, no recognition of the command "Keep holy the Sabbath" and no place of worshiping the true and living God by assemblies. I started from the other side of the Isthmus on Thursday 20th, went up the river in a yawl boat with 23 others and 6 natives to row us up the Colerado 20 miles, where we were to take steamboats which took us two days and two nights to accomplish sleeping on sand bars at night, and musketoes and every other kind of insect to annoy us. Saturday about noon we boarded the Miller (steamboat about the size of a canal boat) and went up the Pachuca Rapids arrived there about 3 oclk Sunday P.M. Staid on her till Monday A.M. when we had to walk 2½ miles around the rapids through the worst road or path you ever saw mud very deep and sticky, it took all day to get that 2½ miles and get up the baggage. Tuesday morning we took the Steamer Director above the Rapids, and proceeded up to the Castillian Rapids, where we spent from Tuesday 10 oclk A.M. till Wednesday 9 oclk A M in getting our baggage around the falls, visiting old ruins &c.

Wednesday morng took Steamer Bulwin above Rapids and proceeded 10 miles up to Laura Rapids where we had to walk 2½ to 3 miles over hill and dale and on Wednesday evng at 6 ock P. M. we had got our baggage and passengers all on board the Steamer Central America, with fair sailing for 110 miles ahead 30 River and 80 Lake which we ran by 8 oclk Thursday A.M. when we went to unloading passengers and baggage which lasted till about 1 oclk P.M. Staid at Virgin Bay till Friday morng and then took mules and reached this place Friday P.M. And here we are to stay, the Lord only knows how long, as our Steamer S S Lewis has not been heard from. She has now been out 85 days on her passage around the Horn. We have had an awful time of it since we came on the Isthmus I presume the worst time that has been since this route has been established in consequence of the lowness of the River, and we are here just at the commencement of the rainy season. We have had showers day and night ever since we left Gray Town and almost evry thing has spoiled in consequence of the dampness, and there has been no care taken of baggage when we came to rapids our baggage was taken in a few boats by natives and when they got them above the

rapids dumped off into the mud knee deep and natives running all over it and such looking lot of stuff you never saw. You will see we were 8 days getting 212 miles and the hardest kind of work and fare.

Passengers have to board themselves across the Isthmus and many did not lay in a sufficiency, and then they have to *Pay* for what they get, Ham 80 cts per lb, cheese 75¢ lb, bread $1.50 pr loaf baked in a 2 qt pan, hard bread 30 pr lb, crackers 60 pr lb, &c &c, coffee and tea 10 cts pr cup and other things in proportion. We have fruit cheap. Oranges as large as nut meg mellans and as sweet as honey at 8 to 12 for a dime. Bananas and plantams are also cheap, but I have got tired of all of them as well as of the country and want to shove ahead. We have now been 25 days from N York and have not got ½ of the way. I should not wonder if we are 60 days getting to San Francisco. I expect the Pacific here from San Francisco hourly (and as I promised to write every 2 weeks) I did not know but I might get a chance to send by some of her passengers. I wrote you twice at Gray Town. . . .

Mrs E B Hulbert Burlington Flatts
Otsego Co. State of New York

Sacremento July 10th 1852

Dear Aunt

It is with the most painfull feelings that I sit down to write you. Your dear husband is dead – He departed this life on the morning of June ninth about four o'clock: after an illness of about eight days – His death was unexpected to us all. We were both taken with the fever on the same day – we had a good physician and he had so far recovered as to walk around the day before and to examine his box of clothes and machine and went to bed feeling well. About four one of our company called me and said he was dying. I amediately got up and found it to [be] true he was breathing heavily and quite cold, I called a physician and he said he must die which he did in about twenty minutes after. The judgment of God will fall on the owners of that line. (This was at the town called "*San Juan de Sud*") We were detained 32 days on the isthmus and the amount of suffering and death was horrable. I was sick two weeks and am now a Skelitan. I will write to Sheldon tomorrow in full and all the affairs relative to his business &c I would today but can hardly hold a pen. Mr Griggs will assist me in relation to his inshurance &c

Yours Wm W Walker

I shall write Grandmother in a day or so. Wm W Walker

Mrs E B Hulbert
Care Mr Ambrose Hulbert Burlington Flatts

Sacremento Oct 30th 1852

My dear Aunt

Yours of September ninth was receaved by me yesterday: you say that you had receaved one from me I think it must have been the first one I wrote. At the time I sent it I was just able to sit up a fiew moments at a time: and of course could not tell you what I wished. I soon after wrote to Sheldon and supposed he had your intire confidence of course: and prefered informing him of the particulars: rather than to pain your feelings: But not hearing from any of you I again wrote to you and shortly after your letter to Mr Griggs was receaved. He amediately answered it and I inclosed in it my affidafit, and also the Physicians testimony and the men that boarded with us also: I should have had it sworn to by them, but from the fact that the "Alcade" of "San Juan" was absent. Mr Griggs thinks that it is plenty evidence for the inshurance.

Well shortly after your letter to Griggs there came one from Sheldon asking Mr Briggs to enquire and try to assertain if any persons in Sacremento could be found that came with uncle and could testify as to his death. So that you could collect the inshurance. Mr Briggs requested me to answer it which I did by last mail. In the first letter to S I sent the bill of his burial expences and some other itims relative to his affairs. Now if he has not receaved those letters: or says he has not I would advise you to be on your *guard*, as he certainly has some object in view or he would not withold them from you. Therefore as you have not seen them I will relate to you as nearly as possible his circumstances on that human grave the "Isthmas." Mr Griggs letter contains the substance of it.

Uncle seamed to injoy himself first rate from the time we left Grandfathers. Whenever he made an alusion about home, he seemed elated with the thought of soon meeting you and his children again and the prospect of making you happy. I never heard him make any alusion to dying excep once: and that was when he purchased those two dresses for you and the books for the children. He then asked my advice about the dresses, saying if he should die they would be a memento to you and altho he had not much money to spend, he had rather scrimp himself than not to send them. The cost of them was $30 and some odd cents. He said he would not send the bill as the people might think him extravagent. I have looked for it but think he destroyed it. His ticket cost

$190 and his Machine $125. His board in N Y was $16.06 and his expenses to N Y you probably know better than myself. As regards the inshurance, I understand it as you do that it was for the benefit of Sheldon and his father as far as thier advances went, and the ballance to you and children. I did not know what those advances were, I think the policy cost $25 it was for $1000. I witnessed the policy and swore as to his general good health, and know that it can be collected as it is on one of the best companies in the State – Uncle was verry particular about it. I know nothing farther than that he sent it to Sheldon by mail. Now if S has no interest in the policy I cant conceave what he means by witholding it from you. And if the notice has not bin served I fear it is to late, *and must be attended to immediately*. . . .

When we left N.Y. his whole mind seamed to run on the delight you would have in reading his letters: and always said when anything happened to pleas him that he would make his wife laugh at that. When on the atlantic side of the isthmas we had several adventures all of which he promised to record to you. we found Mr Lyons a coulered man from Chicago there: he was keeping publick house, and was a great friend of his: our board was two dollars a day there. we staid a week & then started up the river in canoes: as the water was to low to admit of steamers: at night we slep on the sand: eating our own lunch that we brought from N. Y. – the second day we came to the Colerado river and at that place trace our sickness the prospect was that we should have to stop some four or five days: we accordingly fell to work to build us a hut, which we did: of Palm leaves and cane and as the day was hot and damp and both of us wet through with sweet I think that there the seeds of disease were sown that terminated his life and that placed me four long and weary months on a sick bead: but the next day we left and after going 17 miles met the S Boat and carried us to the rappids. Here we walked two miles through everything but death itself.

You cant think of the toil there is in walking through a South American forrest. Vines of the rankest kind impeded our weary march, and snakes and reppitiles of all kinds ran across our path. Here we again aluded to you and said he would give a discription of it to you when this was accomplished we sat nearly five hours in a rain that seamed as if it would drown the world again. That night we slep in the mud. Next day we were again soaked with rain: and the next we reached "Virgin Bay" where we stopped two days paying $3 pr day for rice and coffee of the poorest kind. Here he had to hire his Box carried at 15¢ pr pound

which cost something like $25 I dont know but more. Then we took mules and went six miles where we found Goss of Chicago keeping a grog hole. The next six miles brought us to "San Juan del Sud" here we stopped at the United States Hotel paying $14 pr week for board and sleeping on the floor. Our fare was rice: oranges: poor bread: and slop for coffee. Here he said "I wish I had some of my wife's coffee. For the meat we had fresh pork and *monkeys* this so disgusted us we with seven others resolved to board ourselves, and rented a house that was made of boards and shingled with one room: it was the only one of the kind that is there, the others were made of posts or poles stuck in the ground and covered with palm leaves: we slept on the floor of cource.

On the second or third of June we were both taken sick: nearly at the same time: he did not have a physician for two or three days, then the fever increased and a doctor from Indiana attended us: his name Andrews brother of Cap Andrews of Chicago who uncle was well acquainted with and who was also along, but he became sick: and uncles fever was broken we had no doctor. On the morning of the 8th I was very bad, and not expect to live. Uncle bathed me several times during the day and led me out doors once or twice: in the afternoon he went to the counsol's office & got his box. Took the clothes out and aired them and laid down in his hammock. Seeming well, the men remarked that Mr H was getting ahead faster than any of us. But stil I could observe that he was ill at ease for he said scarcely a word all the afternoon. He read the bible a great deal during his illness. We all retired at the usual hour.

About 4 oclock in the morning Mr Braisted who thought a great deal of Uncle got up and woke me saying he feared Mr H was sick as he was breathing hard and fast. I amediately struck a light and went to him. His body was covered with a cold sweat. I placed my hand on his heart, his flesh was cold and his heart beat thick and heavy. (I sent for the doctor who resided about twenty steps of[f] and was the regular physician of the Ithmas a very skilful man) I called uncle by name but he gave no answer he turned his eyes toward me. There seemed something in that look not of death: but something full of anguish: yet it did not seam of pain, it was as if the eyes would speak what the tongue could not utter. I never shal forget it, I was absolutely crazy. The doctor said it was useless to try to save him I implored him to do something: he accordingly spread plasters of mustard over him and to give him brandy once in ten minutes: in about twenty minutes from the time we found

him he was dead: his only sign of recognition was that look: he coughed once or twice and passed from this world of trouble without a grown, indeed we thought he slept. But alas it was the sleep that wakes not until the reserection morn.

Amediately after his death I went out and altho I could hardly walk alone, I walked the beach until morning. Oh can you think of my utter lonelyness: sick and a stranger in a strange land my only friend gone: never shal I forget that day: and altho since sick and delerious: yet in my wildes moments, the thoughts of that hour would come uppon me and I thanked God in my heart that he had dilivered me from that dreadful place. I had a coffin made as well as the circumstances would permit. (I sent the bill to S) it was of rough mahogany it cost $22. The grave was dug under the superintendance of Mr Braisted in the American burying ground under the broad shade of the mango: in the most beautiful spot I ever saw. I hired four natives to carry him for $12. Mr Braisted read the service over him and all was over: his pantaloons and shirt were his sroud and two towels around his head. His clothes I packed in the box with his machine except two pair of his poorst pants this I could not get in, and as Mr Braisted was poor and had done a great deal I gave them to him. His other clothes and machine I have here at Griggs & Brigs House. I air them evry little while and am onely waiting to hear from you to do with them as you see fit. Mr G spoke of that in his I believe, his dairy book is in Gs trunk. I will send it by Mr Young of Chicago who will start for there in about two months.

Uncle had $8.60 by him when he died. I had let him have a fiew dollars at different times. I dont know but that was what made him feel bad. I had $160 and often told him to make it common between us: and if he had not died I should have paid $50 extra apeace to get away on the "Pacific" then expected. His funeral expences were coffn $22: carrying $12: Doc Spiers bill $10 (total) $44. Dr Andrews charged him and me $20. I paid him ten and he has threatened to sue me for the other, but he will be smart if he gets it. I sold his ticket for $45.: more than I had expected to get. His machine and clothes have cost for storage $1.50, transportation to and from the ship $1.25 they are in good order and safe. I think I have told you all, if not you must write me and I will think of something else perhaps: you wish me to discribe "San Juan del Sud" it is beautiful in the extreme: Uncle thought that he never saw a more beautiful spot. it is a bay of a mile in width with an extremely narrow entrance. The levil that the town stands on is perhaps forty acres: this

is surrounded with mountains that are impassable except the mule track that communicates to the Atlantic side. The population is composed of a mixture of Spanish and negroes intersperced with the indian. These mountains are covered with a dence groth of mahogany, mango and gum elastic trees, with now and then a lemon tree. The buring ground is situated about half a mile up a mountain on a small plot of green sward. The forest forms a ring about it making it supremely lovely.

I must close. I had a letter from G Walker to day. My health is pretty good at present but nothing to what it was in the states I get $60 pr month and board I work only three hours in the day for that sum. My board when sick for two weeks was $70: and not quite what I had in C [Chicago] for $2. Women can make more than men here at washing &c there is one close by here that is worth some $15 or 20,000 made in washing in three years. Give my love to all the family. . . . Please write soon and do not dispair, for the same all wise God that took your dear Husband will not withhold his hand from the fatherless

Wm W Walker

I shal expect to hear from you again soon I think some of going into a fruit store with Mr Briggs he has made a proposal to me. I wish Wm H was here, if a person can have their health they cant help making money Wm W Walker

I have all his books and papers, Bible &c. I will send by Mr Young to C.

Col William W. Walker West Exeter
Otsego County State New York

Sacremento March 13th 53

Dear Grandfather and Grandmother

I think as I am writing to almost everybody to day that I will write you a rather short letter. I have but little time before the mail closes, therefore I am brief. I am not in verry good humor this morning, for the reason that Mr Foster one of the men living here has the small pox which shewed itself this morning on his face. I dont want you to think I am affraid of it: not at all. But I shall be obliged to stay in the house a day or so. I did entend to go to "Opher" on Monday as I have after long delays: and mutch trouble: succeeded in finding the men five in number who were with Uncle Eri when he died and tended him when sick and buried him. They thought a great deal of him and are verry anxious to serve Aunt Lousa in regard to the inshurance. But now I have to wait

until about Thursday. I have bin vaxcenated this morning. Dr Colbern did it for me in 1846 I think. I paid $10 for the operation: What do you think of that? But it is easier to pay that than 25 cents at home. I suppose Aunt Loisa is nearly discouraged abut it: but it is imposible to find persons here: They are a wandering set: going from place to place, pitching their tents when night overtakes them: as the Isrilites did in times gone by — And the only God they bow the knee to is like the one Aaron made: of Gold many seak it, but fiew indeed find. Mr Briggs has given up going home since last mail. But Mr Griggs will go soon I suppose.

Tell Aunt L I have sold 1 coat $5, 2 pr socks $1.50, 1 coat and vest $6.00 2 pr socks $1.50 1 pr drawers and socks $3, 1 coat $8 — The balance I have here consisting in part of his best suit, silver spoons, bible, memorandum books, double gown sundry thin coats, hdkfs &c. You will please let her see this so that she can form some idea about it & I shal write next mail: or if I should go to "Opher" Mr Griggs will — Remember me to Aunt Harriet Uncle Elihu &c. They will hear from me soon: In the mean time I hope you will write often, it is such a consolation to hear from home and all connected therewith. . . . The markets are very low now. . . . Hens from China $3 apeace California hens from $5 to $8 apeace. I have an old hen that lays evry day in my barn that I would not sell short of $20. There is but little news here now. The persons who murdered Boot Jack which I spoke in my last have bin sentenced. And will soon swing — One of them remarked that he should die like a man: with the Star Spangled banner over his head — he is onely nineteen years old and an adept in crime already.

I am boarding now at Mr Thompons of Chicago, he is owing me about $40 and it is the onely way that I am likely to get paid: and he boards a little dust cheaper than the arristocracy $8 per week. I can tell you it would come hard on a fellow to pay that in Chicago. But it is the verry lowest board in this whole State so you see a fellow must earn something to pay board: and then there is my washing 25 cts a rag and all my extras, not snuf & tobaco. But evry thing costs money. Just think what I have paid to doctors $25 to Dr Spier, $91 to Dr Curtis and between $50 & 60 to Dr Whitmore, then think of my board when sick, first at the Sutter Hotell, Mr Foster as Nurce or in other words. Mr Griggs got him to keep me from knocking my head against the wall I had a decided tendancy to do for about two weeks: his part for two weeks was $68. My board for the same time was $32. Then from that time til 13 of September $12 pr week if that anint enough to make a

family man strike his dady I cant tel what is. But as Shakespier says, alls well that ends well. I suppose it is all right, and I often think that evrything has ben ordered for my good –

The China population is on the encrese rappidly. If I make my mind up to stay I am going to have a China boy with me: that is if I stay in the city, and carry on my business: which you know is matrass making. His name is "Gee Hop" he has a sister named – Ce-Ce who I go to see verry often: it is such fun to see the critter take on: and try to enlighten me a poor barbarian. There is some dozen of them living together. They are verry cold and reserved in their manner to a stranger: it is almost out of the question to come near them: unless you get their confidence: then nothing is to good for you. I got acquainted with Gee Hop last fall by giving him my old pistol. To reward me for it: and also to show me the wonders he took me to all the China houses and introduced me as his friend among the China gamblers, bakers, tailors &c. As one step paved the way for another I soon became acquainted with nearly all the Chinas in Sacremento I always take a whif of thier opium and tobaco and a swallow of tea when I enter. And in that way I know nearly all that goes on among them: Briggs and the rest of the boys say I will turn a Chinese yet. But its fun to see them mad: they always start for the pig tail which you know is three or four feet in length – I saw a Spanish girl and one of em take it the other day. The Seigneretta whipped him – I will close by asking to be remembered by you before the Mercy Seat, and pray we may meet once more on earth –

Your affectionate grandson William

Addendum. – The San Francisco *Directory* for 1880, p. 1096, says that Rev. E. B. Hulbert [*b.*, July 16, 1841], son of Eri B. Hulbert of the letters, was pastor of the First Baptist Church there from Nov. 1872 to Dec. 1877, when he resigned because of ill-health. Family papers record his death on Feb. 17, 1907.

Julius Wangenheim

An Autobiography

(Concluded)

So Scripps was founded in 1926 as the second institution of the group. It was as yet only an idea to be developed by the authorities, with E. J. Jaqua as president, and a board of trustees. I was selected as one of these, and have served without interruption since. I was tremendously interested in the plan to develop a new academic approach and approved thoroughly of the slogan—"few subjects, well taught." I was active in the discussions, but my only real contribution was one of which I am proud, and for which the girls ought to erect a statue to me some day—this was the stipulation that no student has to take mathematics. (Of course they can, if they wish, take courses at Pomona.) With my well-known love of mathematics, I could make such a suggestion more easily than most. I have always felt that those plastic years of youth should be scrupulously prized, and only those influences which will enrich life should be given place in a curriculum. When many boys chuck their mathematics in short order, even when they have use for it, why burden a girl with something that to her is only a disagreeable task to be gotten through? And as to the much-vaunted mental discipline, I'm sure that any subject well taught will develop that.

The institution blossomed under the generous help of Miss Scripps. Beautiful dormitories were built, and an excellent faculty was engaged. At one time I took pleasure in the fact that while the girls had beautiful living quarters, the classes were held in small shacks alongside. I liked the idea, but the Balches soon generously gave an administration and study building, so the academic side was as well provided for architecturally as the other.

I played a part in the creation of the new library for the college. Mrs. Denison of San Diego was appealed to for this, and she responded generously. She idolized the Gothic, and was particularly enamoured of the Cathedral at Chartres. It was her wish to have the library built along these lines, and I agreed with her wholeheartedly, particularly as it was

reminiscent of the alcove library of my college days. But we couldn't get the architect to visualize our aim—a long nave with alcoved recesses like chapels, Gothic construction, and a stained glass window at the apse. He made blueprint after blueprint, and it was only when he reached series "K" that we approved and accepted. Mrs. Denison added the beautiful window—a 13th century type, which now graces the building and which is a more glorious thing than I had believed could be produced in this century. It is interesting how this library has grown. I had envisioned one central library for the university as a whole, believing that a comparatively small reference list was all that would be needed for each separate college. I made a selection along this line and donated it at an expense somewhat over $1000. A rather infantile start, and a joke on me, when one sees how many thousands of books are now on the shelves of the Ella Strong Denison Library.

The college grew and prospered. More dormitories were built, and management came largely into the hands of the administrators, aided by a few active board members. My interest remained, but my work as a trustee became perfunctory, and in the past few years my attendance has been so irregular that I feel I should resign to make way for someone more active.

About 1924 or 1925 I was asked to become a member of the California Alumni Association trustees. Much flattered, I accepted, and faithfully performed my duties, even though this meant regular trips to San Francisco. I did some criticizing, feeling that the organization was spending too much energy on its own success as an institution instead of generating a helpful spirit toward the university among its graduates. The criticizing evidently didn't hurt, for I was made president of the association in 1926, without going through the usual grades of vice president, and I held this position for the customary two years. This made me an *ex officio* regent of the university, and it was interesting to step into that body, since the last time I had seen the regents had been in 1887, to ask them humbly for my degree.

The work of the regents held a great deal of interest for me. The main issues centered around the demands of Los Angeles for the extension of greater power to the institution down there. First a normal school, it had become a branch of the university, and now aspired to every function of the parent institution at Berkeley. It reminded me of the debates in the U. S. senate in the 1850s, when everything centered around the question of north and south. So it did here. And I, selected from the

south, gave my sympathy almost entirely to the north—to my Alma Mater and the place of my birth.

In my first presidential address to the alumni association at an annual dinner held in Oakland, I laid before them a plan to change the university structure, making the first 2 years equivalent to a glorified junior college, and then, after thorough sifting, to take into the upper and graduate classes only those students sufficiently qualified to carry on scholarly research and constructive work. The council were in favor of this, but the administrative authorities, particularly President Wallace W. Campbell, were entirely unreceptive. Robert Gordon Sproul, then vice president and a council member, and President Ray Lyman Wilbur of Stanford, were in accord with the idea, and I had a number of conferences with Wilbur. He was working on the idea for Stanford, but his alumni were in opposition—the reverse of our own situation where we had the authorities against us. We probably would have had alumni opposition, too, because the plan would have interfered with the football set-up, but I had anticipated this objection by suggesting that the scheme would provide a fine alibi, for California football was in one of its periodic slumps.

Nothing came of my reform efforts, and after I left, the subject was dropped. But one constructive thing I did is still a source of pleasure to me: one night we were at a party given by Mrs. Morrison of San Francisco, and, as usual, I browsed among the books. Noticing this, my hostess remarked that these were but a few, and that the main library was in the attic. I was eager to see it. Mrs. Morrison at first demurred on the grounds of untidiness, but finally consented to take us up. A glorious sight unfolded—a huge attic lined with the finest books, not fine bindings or collectors' items, but the best kind of reading library, used, marked, and annotated by her husband, Alexander Morrison, in his lifetime one of the shining lights of the San Francisco bar. We discussed the proper disposition of the books; and Mrs. Morrison said she would like to give them to the university, but hated the idea of all their individuality being submerged in the countless thousands of volumes in the university library.

I sympathized with her viewpoint, saying that I had had the same feeling about my mathematical collection, which I had presented to the college with the express understanding that they be kept intact and as a unit in the mathematical seminar. The next day I went to Berkeley and saw the librarian, who was enthusiastic about the establishment of a

browsing room in their great library. Back I went to Mrs. Morrison, and she was as enthusiastic as he. The deal was made, and I never saw two people so happy, Mrs. Morrison in the giving of the books, the librarian in the receiving. The result is the present Morrison Room in the university library, stocked with those valuable books and remodelled into a complete and lovely room, beautifully furnished at an expense of over $50,000, to which Mrs. Morrison added $25,000 as an endowment. It was a lot of money to spend, but proved a wonderful investment in the pleasure she both gave and received. So that, at least, remains a tangible evidence of my incumbency.

Being much in Berkeley, I lunched often at one or another of the clubs. And as a supporter of the feminists, I noted with pleasure that whereas the Women's Faculty Club made money and served good meals, the men's counterpart served pretty poor stuff and lost money steadily. I've noticed this often in the business world, where some bright secretary does all the work, and some male boss gets all the glory and the credit.

One thing leads to another, and I soon had further educational experience. Governor Young appointed an educational committee to recommend to the legislature any desirable changes in the educational system of the state, and he named me as one of the members. Mrs. Dorsey, a splendid lady who had for years been superintendent of schools in Los Angeles, was chairman. I knew her well and admired her greatly. We worked conscientiously, meeting usually in Sacramento. I was in favor of some radical recommendations, both because I saw the need for them and because I felt that they would stimulate discussion and controversy, out of which some good might come. But Mrs. Dorsey was a conservative of the old school, and our findings were more voluminous than vital. They lacked fire and anvil ring, and when the report was presented to the legislature, it was filed, and that was the end of it as far as they were concerned. Though it was published in book form, I have never heard of anyone who was so rash as to read it.

But I learned a number of things in the process of working on that committee, and one of them is almost a key to many problems in the educational field: that one of the most important functions of the schools, from primary grades up through the senior year of college, is custodial—to take care of the children first. In the meantime, throw education at them, and if it takes, why splendid! Custodial care in the early years is certainly a necessary function, but it ought later to be de-emphasized.

I remember the shock I got when I found out that in California there were at that time 1800 single-teacher schools. We inveighed against this, and since the inauguration of the present generous bus-system, the number has naturally been reduced. I decided later that if such a school were blessed with a good teacher, nothing could be better—only, if she were bad, no arrangement could be worse. I was shocked, too, to hear that in many schools no children were kept back; all were promoted at the end of each school year. This seemed to be at variance with the principles which governed in my youth, till it struck me that under a system of universal education, there is nothing else to do; give the laggards a chance, and then shove them along and out to make room for the newcomers. This satisfies the custodial requirement, and the rest may be practically hopeless anyway.

From education I merged a bit into art. Mr. Appleton Bridges, one of our wealthy citizens, was induced to give San Diego an art gallery, and his gift was translated into the handsome edifice in the park which replaced the old Sacramento Building of the 1915 Exposition. It cost around $500,000, a surprise to Bridges, for he told me in later years that when he had agreed to give the building, he figured it would consist of a room with four walls on which to hang pictures. Things are never so simple, and in this case the construction had to meet the problems of lighting and heating, office and packing space, vaults, and so on. At any rate, it was erected, and Bridges generously started it off with the purchase of pictures and tapestries. (The purchases were mediocre, for all their expensiveness.) I was on the original board of directors, and always took an interest in its work, particularly its finances. I have been on the board continuously, and was its president for four years. The rest of the time I have been chairman of the finance committee, handling particularly an endowment of $100,000 settled by Mr. Bridges, and a bequest of about $40,000 from Miss Helen Towle. For the latter I am an obstinate watchdog, despite pressure to spend being exerted from all sides.

While I was busy all these years, Laura was too, and in her domain she made more of a hit than I ever did. For years our house was the seat of the musical mornings enjoyed by so many, and presided over by Constance Herreshoff at the piano. We thought our home something of a social center as well as a cultural one. For years we prided ourselves on the fact that after dinner-parties we engaged in conversation rather than bridge. (However, in the last few years we have fallen from grace

and often, in fact usually, indulge in cards.) Our contacts were broad, of course; we knew the old-timers well, and we welcomed any newcomers who promised to be congenial. Taking it all in all, we enjoyed a happy social life, with younger friends of Laura's as well as contemporaries; sometimes, at a Sunday luncheon on our porch, I would find myself the only man, and would revel in it—in sharp contrast to my youthful years when such a thing would have scared me to death. Among such friends were the Bradleys, Gertrude Johnson and Myra Pauly Goodman, Lydia Grandier and Saidee Ingle, and many more.

Our associations also extended to a number of the U. S. services people. We probably had first set out to be nice to the "strangers within our gates" but it ended in their being nicer still, and some of our warmest friendships were in the services. In the navy, besides the Welleses whom I've mentioned before, there were the Robertsons, the Senns, the Gannons, the Tarrants; at the naval training station the charming David and Anita Sellers and the Blackburns; but, especially, the U. S. marines won our hearts, with the Myerses, Ralph and Katherine Dunlap (he tragically and bravely lost his life in France), John and Mabel Russell, and last but in some ways best of all, Louis and Elsie Little. It was a glorious array, with many other fine people "in between," such as our good friends the Churches and the Cronans. In the army, we boasted the friendship of the handsome General Strongs, and the brilliant Joe Kuhns. Many of these people fell in love with San Diego, as San Diego did with them, and came to live here in their retirement, making the social life better for their presence.

During this period we met many prominent visitors. I recall the dinner given to President Wilson just before his breakdown. The Prince of Wales was guest of honor at a dinner in Coronado, a shy frightened boy, standing on the steps of the hotel and saying plaintively, "Where do we go from here?" He was charming, and one felt like patting him on the head. (In later years one felt like patting him somewhere else.)

A man I admired very much was Newton Baker, and I saw him frequently on his San Diego visits to Justice John H. Clarke, a close friend. (The latter, who daily sits beside me at our club lunch table, has a splendid record. He was the first U. S. supreme court justice to resign from the bench, which he did to devote his energies to peace and the League of Nations—a noble, but tragically futile purpose.) I enjoyed Newton Baker's conversation, and have always considered him the best speaker I've ever heard. One of his stories sheds light on his modesty, as well as

on the oft-discussed question of who writes official addresses. His wife came to him one day, saying that she had a great "trade last" for him: a high school teacher had just told her that they were using his war speeches (he was secretary of war in 1917-18) as models of style in an English literature course. "Lovely," he said to her. "That's a great tribute to Walter Lippmann and Felix Frankfurter!"

I remember with pleasure the party given me by friends on my 60th birthday, and particularly recall the remarks of Lyman Gage on that occasion – "The first 30 years for preparation, the second 30 for accomplishment, and the third 30 for reminiscent peace and unspoken influence." And I think I have pursued such a course, and commented on it recently when Mr. Marston gave me a luncheon on my 75th birthday.

During these years I devoted a great deal of time to public service. Whenever I read in the morning paper about something that was wrong, I felt that it ought to be attended to, and that somehow it was up to me. Now, I am apt not to notice public problems, and when I do, I certainly don't feel that the solution is up to me.

When in 1920 we induced Mr. Marston to run for mayor for the second time, we hoped this would be a unanimous tribute offered to him by the whole city. But to our surprise, one of the newcomer boosters entered the lists for the job. This was Louis J. Wilde, who had started a bank, launched a telephone company, engineered the Grant Hotel, and messed up everything he touched. He was likeable personally even though I fought him to the finish, and he was the best publicity man I've ever seen; an article by him attacking Mr. Marston would elicit almost more notice than a war announcement of Wilson's. He went into the campaign with the slogan "Smokestacks versus Geraniums." I was very active in Mr. Marston's behalf, and got the support of the 3 newspapers, the help of the reform element (that was easy), and the support of the "Push" – Charley Hardy. I also got the drys, of course, and the wets ($500 came from the brewery), and I thought I was a political wizard. All I forgot was the People, and they elected Wilde! Why? One doesn't have to go deep into political science. Wilde was a glamorous go-getter, Marston a gentleman of culture, and, unfortunately, there is an unconscious, and sometimes not so unconscious, resentment by the people against a man who stands far above them culturally. Anyway, Wilde was elected, and he had the task of appointing commissions, particularly the new planning commission, which Marston and I had tried to get for years, before we finally succeeded. To my amazement, one of Wilde's first acts was to appoint me as chairman of that commis-

sion, with the request that I name the other members. This was fine, but when a little later he urged the rental of the Spreckels Theatre Building for a city hall, I rebelled, feeling that the Spreckels interests dominated the town too much as it was, and shouldn't own our city hall as well. So what does Wilde do but fire the whole commission. But nevertheless he dropped the plan.

Some time later a fracas developed in the water commission. Water has always been our chief community problem, and the source of much altercation. The water commission and the council were at loggerheads, and the members of the commission either resigned or were fired, I've forgotten which. Whereupon Wilde appointed me as chairman of the new board, with two other members. We soon straightened out all the difficulties with the council, but a new problem then arose. Mr. Savage was water engineer, and while successive embattled commissions came and went, he had gone on with his work as if he were the only authority. I realized the particularly great importance of the work, and had a reasonably good technical knowledge of it. I also considered that Savage, as our engineer, should report to and cooperate with us, who were, after all, the higher authority. As is often the case, this became the source of much conflict. For instance, Savage wanted to write the water reports, but I, as chairman, very decidedly wanted to do this myself, though after full conference with him. The council sided with us of the commission, but Savage had many friends in town, conspicuous among them Melville Klauber, and for the first and only time in our lives, it made some difference in our personal relationship, more on his side than on mine, I am sure. A new mayor was elected who was friendly to Savage, and I considered his slowness in asking me to continue in office as equivalent to an invitation to resign, and I did so.

And now, by a curious turn of the wheel, I got back, if not into business, at least into a business atmosphere. It was a new enterprise that worked out splendidly, for it brought Alice and her family, after twelve years in San Francisco, back to San Diego.

The Southern Title and Trust Co. was a rather old company in San Diego, started about 1911 by A. P. Johnson. He ran it for years, and it was the nature of the business, particularly in a town of such ups and downs as San Diego has had, that it was often very good and sometimes very poor. It paid excellent dividends for a number of years, then sometimes omitted them for long periods. I was on the board for a while, but finding myself not in accord with the management, I resigned.

Then in 1931 Mr. Johnson died, and I was asked to go on the board again. I did, although I held only a few shares of stock. The question of succession to the presidency came up, and Mr. Hegg, Johnson's son-in-law, pleaded for the position as a tribute to the family, saying that he wanted it only temporarily. His request was granted, but when the next year rolled around, he planned to continue in office. Times were bad, the business was losing ground, and something had to be done to prevent a collapse. The stockholders, outside of the Johnson group, felt that the incumbent management couldn't do it.

A fight for control ensued. The Johnsons, with their friends, owned almost half the stock, but the other stockholders combined in almost a solid phalanx, and after a meeting that lasted well into the night our side won out. They wanted me as president, but I wasn't sure, and wanted to think it over. So, temporarily, Eugene Daney was elected. But finally I decided to take the position, urged by 2 considerations, the one of getting the company on its feet, the other of perhaps offering a position to my son-in-law George Heyneman. He, after realizing the hopelessness of the woolen goods business with which he had long been associated in San Francisco, had been without a business for 2 years and the prospects, in 1932, were not encouraging. I wasn't sure that the business would suit George, or George the business, but to me it held promise, and I laid the proposition before him. He came down in March 1932. We paid him no salary during the trial period, but it didn't take long to find out that he was just born to the work. He sent for the family, who came down in July, and his work began.

The move to San Diego wasn't easy for Alice. She had adapted beautifully to San Francisco, had a lovely house on Pacific Avenue with a garden which she had made most attractive. Best of all, she had a most congenial group of friends. However, she took it nobly and, as a reward, now has a still lovelier home, an even more attractive garden, and a fine group of friends here.

With George the change was easier. He had graduated from Stanford in 1914, had gone on a tramp through Europe with John Altman, and had come home at the outbreak of war to a job in New York. When the U. S. entered the war he went into the army, and served as a lieutenant in the field artillery, taking part in most of the campaigns in France. The war over, he returned to San Francisco and entered the old established business of Arnstein Simon, a wholesale woolen concern started by his grandfather in 1858. This had been a most lucrative business in

the days when the source of supply was far away, but as the world grew smaller and American instead of English woolens were mainly used, the volume gradually shrank and the heyday was over. George got out, foreseeing the denouement, but he had found it difficult to find an attractive opening. So he came to San Diego gladly, adjusting to the business and the entire environment.

The plan for Southern Title and Trust Co. was a success from the start, and the curve began to turn upward. From a 19% share of local business, we slowly edged up to nearly 40%. This proved to be a source of worry to our bigger competitor, and for a time our relations were rather difficult. I hasten to add that one of my greatest pleasures in recent months is the complete elimination of this feeling, and the building of a fine relationship between the 2 concerns, extending to mutual personal confidence. George was doing his part splendidly, but the financial structure of the organization was very bad. The concern owed a lot of money to the banks, and they were dissatisfied. The bonds we owned had depreciated in value, the required deposits with the insurance department and the banking department were far below the statutory amount, and they were each demanding increased deposits which we had no means of making.

To make matters worse, it happened that the very next day or so after George came into the business, there was a note on his desk saying that the rent on the Belmont Hotel had not been paid. This required investigation, and turned out to be something of a blow. Years before, the Southern Title Co. had leased the lot on the NW corner of Third and E streets for $600 a month and taxes, had put up a building at a cost of $30,000, had sold the building and turned over the lease, without the owner's release, to a bus company for $40,000. The transaction was forgotten, the new tenant paid the rent, and then suddenly he died, so that the owner turned to us for recourse. Investigation showed that there was nothing left in the estate, and the liability for the $600 rental and all the taxes devolved on us. The going rents on the property were low; they didn't nearly cover costs, and there were always vacancies and defaults. Here was a millstone around our necks that in itself threatened to drown us. It almost threw our other difficulties into the shade. And there we were, with the "Depression" in full swing.

It wasn't a pretty prospect, but we had to tackle it. We had one block of $50,000 in bonds of the Mortgage Guarantee Co. which were due, but the company declared a moratorium and the bonds went way down.

I had, fortunately, advised them some months before that we would demand our money at maturity, and I had their acknowledgment and promise to pay. When they refused, I took the matter up with our Los Angeles attorneys, and called at the office of the Mortgage Guarantee Co. up there. They hemmed and hawed, and after a long discussion, I waved my hand and said, "All right, good-bye!" leaving them to draw the inference that I would sue. But I returned to our attorneys' office and instructed them not to take any action, since a suit would not help us. My bluff had worked, however (my poker days stood me in good stead), and when I returned to the hotel I found a message that they would pay the full amount of $50,000 and interest.

Then I had to straighten out the difficulties with the insurance and banking departments, and I finally induced the insurance department to do something they had never done: to accept a mortgage on our building in lieu of securities. This released a great number of bonds, and by selling these we were able to pay off the bank. But, having given a mortgage on our building to the insurance department, we had an equity on our books in the banking department, and under the law we could not hold equities. I went to argue this point with the very shrewd head of that department, and was fearful that I couldn't put our case over. But when I got there, I found that the department chief was off on vacation, and I did business with a very stupid deputy, or perhaps he was a very nice one. At any rate he said "If the insurance department will take your mortgage, that's all right with us, but *we* couldn't take it." Thus, when the head of the department returned, we could tell him that we had proceeded with the department's consent.

At the same time, with everybody in need of money, we were able to get the Belmont lease cancelled on payment of $27,500. I loaned the company the money, and the easing of this burden gave zest to the solution of our other problems.

For the time being, we were all fixed. The departments were taken care of, and our debts were paid. The business was in good shape, so much so that it could be easy prey to anyone who wanted it badly. We owned almost no stock; the Union Title Co. had hoped to get the business years before, and had acquired a large interest. A group of Los Angeles people had an option on the concern, but though we had managed to knock it out, they still held a big block of stock, and were the largest holders. The business was worth more to a competitive group than it was to us, and we saw no way of acquiring control. The law

didn't allow preferred stock in either the banking or the insurance departments, so this only-possible way of getting control was closed to us.

Meanwhile, although we had fixed things up with the departments and the banks, our capital was impaired, and we were ordered to replenish it. Many concerns – most of the banks in the country – were in the same fix, and time was allowed for compliance. The finances of the whole country were in a terrible shape, and the government had to step in to save crumbling institutions. It thereupon passed laws permitting the issuance of preferred stock by banks and insurance companies, and the state passed enabling laws to this end, so that the Reconstruction Finance Corp. could buy such preferred stock.

There was our chance. Not only did the law authorize the issuance of preferred stock but it also made its terms subject to the decision of the departments in charge. Thus we were able to make good our impaired capital by issuing preferred stock, and we got permission to issue $25 preferred with the same voting power as $100 common stock. Finances were so tight that no one else was willing or able to help out, and George and I took all the issue of $128,000 which gave us full and absolute control of the business. This was surely a bit of luck.

Further luck had made it possible for me in such desperate times to put in my share of the cash. In 1929, stocks seemed crazy high to me, and I sold about $100,000's worth. It seemed foolish to put the money into other stocks, so I loaned it around, and also took $50,000's worth of Sussman Wormser 7% preferred stock. This was an absolutely illiquid investment, but an unquestionably good one, and I was glad to take it. Then, much to my surprise, in June 1932 they took advantage of their right to call it, and paid me my investment with a premium. It was a unique piece of luck. Stocks were at their lowest, and it was easy to make investments at ridiculously low prices. Had I bought common stocks, I would have made a fortune, but I conservatively bought the very choicest preferred. So when there was need for money to buy the Southern Title and Trust Co., I had only to sell these stocks and call in a few loans. George had a number of bonds and liquid securities, and they helped out.

Since then, we've been sailing along splendidly. I gave up the presidency, which George took over, and I became chairman of the board. One of George's greatest triumphs is the fact that the "old guard" who resented his coming are now most devoted to him.

With George congenially fixed in business, and with everything go-

ing along well with us, we decided on another European trip. So off to England we went on April 2, 1934, having engaged passage on the *Ile de France*. By October we were back in San Diego.

Just before we left, there had been a movement among the promoters to have another international exposition. I had nothing to do with it, and was pleased that as a result of my absence I would be perfectly free of the venture, for I didn't take to the idea at all. Nevertheless, during my absence I was named as one of the directors, the idea being to have a group concerned with cultural pursuits, and not confine the promotion of the exposition to the booster element alone. Being president of the Fine Arts Society, I took charge of that department, for this time the art exhibit was made an integral part of the exposition, a status which had been denied it in 1915. That part was a success.

I was also on the finance committee, of which Ralph Jenney was chairman. Soon after, he was appointed to the federal bench, and the chairmanship and the responsibility devolved on me. A Los Angeles man, Zach Farmer, had been named the executive head of the exposition, at a salary of $20,000. Young Frank Belcher was president, and he made a very good one; he handled the ceremonial side magnificently for one so young, but since he had had little experience with finances, that work fell principally to our committee.

While construction was going on, we would often demur at the debts which were being blithely accumulated, but it was easy for the enthusiasts to predict great things for the future, and they got a fairly free rein. When operation of the fair actually began, however, this was no longer the case. It was soon evident that we could not survive the expensive set-up, yet, in the face of the dominating personality of Farmer, there was little we could do about it. I was convinced that unless we could get rid of him, we were bound for the rocks. An issue was raised, and Farmer, following his own strategy, one day handed us the resignations of the heads of all departments, figuring that we could not get along without all of them at once, and would be forced to come to terms. But it didn't work that way. Instead we were able to get rid of Farmer and the whole extravagant organization at once, for we accepted all the resignations. And there was great rejoicing, and without much difficulty we made the necessary adjustments.

Expenses were slashed, and from a headlong flight into the red, we soon got into profitable territory and wiped out all our deficits. When we quit, we had on hand a 60% refund for subscribers. Then came the

boosters again, clamoring for another year of exposition. There was a clean-cut division: some, like me, were willing to have an annual industrial fair of one month; others wanted another year's international exposition. And the latter won out. I resigned, most amicably, from the finance committee, and the executive committee once again took charge. The second year was an anti-climax, a warmed-over affair, and the moneys we had accumulated were practically all spent, so that at the end only about 5% was returned after all.

I stayed on the board as a director, however, and was always more or less active, particularly because of my close friendship with Robert Flack, the city manager. When the end came, I worked out a plan whereby we turned over to the city all exposition equipment — in lieu of putting the grounds back in order as previously agreed — and also paid the city around $11,000. The next question which arose was the re-allotment to civic purposes of the buildings released by the exposition. This matter was placed in the hands of a committee appointed by Mr. Flack, consisting of myself as chairman and Marston, Crandall, and Kunzel as members. Every organization wanted one or another of the buildings.

We set to work on the problem, and solved it to our satisfaction, though when we announced our allotments there were very few who wanted what they got. Many of the candidates for the buildings had overlooked the matter of obligations which went with possession — full maintenance, repair, and insurance. Faced with these, some would-be beneficiaries balked. As a result, many of the buildings are still vacant, while others have been taken over by the city for recreational purposes, and by the state for its defense program. The federal building still awaits its adoption as a civic auditorium — a crying need for the city — but on the whole the park is well utilized.

Two of the institutions I had set my heart on saving were salvaged: the Spanish Village, which was converted to studios for San Diego artists; and Hospitality House (which had served such a splendid purpose during the exposition), with its conspicuously fine restaurant the Casa del Rey Moro, and its lovely terrace garden. This is the only outdoor eating place in San Diego, and, overlooking a beautiful vista of trees, flowers, and shrubs, it is not only a godsend to the park but an extremely attractive place in its own right.

Let me say a further word about Robert Flack, our city manager. Some few years ago there was one of the periodic movements for politi-

cal reform in the city. The reform group was very successful in the election. The fine new council selected a splendidly efficient city manager, Mr. Flack, and in the next election, both he and the council were overwhelmingly endorsed. However, reaction followed, and the succeeding election rejected the reform group epitomized in the council, and Flack resigned. It was a sad commentary on public service.

Came 1940, with the world at war, but we still had the wanderlust. Europe was shut off; neither the orient nor South America appealed to us, so early in the year we decided to take a motor trip and see our own country for a change. We had a memorable trip of over 11,000 miles in which we had met no unpleasantness, no mishaps, no sickness – not even a cold.

Down through the years, death has taken its inevitable toll. Of the previous generations none are left, and I am the oldest of either Laura's or my family. My mother died in the summer of 1918, my father in the fall. He was 88 and hale in most respects, though his eyesight was failing. He was out walking alone when a milk wagon struck him, and he never recovered consciousness. Juda, who had lived a fine life, respected and loved by a host of friends, died in 1934. Two sisters and a brother have passed away, Amy in 1923, Hattie in 1933, and Emil in 1939. Only Betsy and I are left.

Of Laura's family, her father died in 1911, her mother in 1921. Then Ella, the gifted one, who had lost her husband a few years before, left us, after a long illness, in 1932. Soon afterward, Melville died suddenly, leaving a void never to be filled. The death of Hugo followed in 1935. All these left the family broken and the business crippled. Only Edgar is left of the boys who once made up the Klauber-Wangenheim concern, and he is in Los Angeles, but Allan stepped into the business and took the place of both Melville and Hugo. He has done it magnificently; his father would have been proud of him.

Now, at nearly 75, I am taking life easy. I quit active business at 50, and never for one day have I regretted it.

While civic affairs no longer stir me, I maintain my interest in cultural affairs, and am a sort of elder statesman to many institutions. In addition, I keep in constant touch with Klauber-Wangenheim and with the First National Bank, with both of which I have the most cordial relations. And of course I take a supervising interest in the Southern Title Co., where my office is and where I spend my mornings. The institution is so well run, however, that it is no drain on my time. With George,

Matt Gleason, and Rollin Reed at the head, it is a happy and a most successful family.

When I survey the changes on the local scene, my eyes fasten on only two places—San Francisco, where I was born and bred, and San Diego, where I spent my mature years.

San Francisco! It is still a name to conjure with. It still has character and personality; it still has an aura of loveliness, and it is proud of its incomparable heritage.

San Diego is different. In my youth it was no city, but a sort of backwash town, shut off in the southwestern corner of the state. But its very isolation developed its character. Having to depend on itself, San Diego built up its own core of culture. In those days, one knew everybody. There was the kind of liberalism associated with San Francisco. In fact I have often thought that San Diego was a colony of San Francisco, in the ancient Greek sense; it had the same kind of people, and the same ideals. Now it has become in every way a colony of Los Angeles.

As I mentioned previously, the population of San Diego in 1890 was around 17,000, and in 1900 it was the same. The town was slow as well as small. But there was a chamber of commerce—the seat of ambition. It wanted the town to grow, and it has grown.

Personal influence declines when a town gets beyond a certain size; a new generation has come, by birth and by immigration. Capable and independent business men are fewer, as independent stores give way to chains; the latter strongly dominate San Diego. And the navy, which is really our main industry, is absolutely impersonal. Of course we have gained, too. Our buildings are better, our stores are more modern, our streets are all paved, and we have a fine system of country roads outside the city. No longer is the traveller covered by clouds of dust, or mired in a mud bog. Statistically, we have gained all along the line.

Two of our gains I considered of inestimable value, and I am proud to have played a part in their winning: The park, once a dreary waste, is now a place of beauty and a boon to all the people; and the waterfront, once a succession of mud flats, has become a fine area which gives dignity and character to the city. If the test of a man's life is whether his city is the better for his having been, I rest on these two developments as my contribution to the city of my adoption.

San Diego, September 1941

News of the Society

HENRY R. WAGNER, COLLECTOR, BIBLIOGRAPHER, CARTOGRAPHER AND HISTORIAN*

By THOMAS W. STREETER

Though I had met Henry Wagner before 1927, our friendship, which became closer and closer as the years went by, did not really begin until then. By that time I had done some work on what for me was a most ambitious project, that of writing a bibliography of Texas through the year 1845, which would be a continuation, as far as Texas was concerned, of his *The Spanish Southwest.* I had heard he did not plan to continue *The Spanish Southwest,* but he was such a master of bibliography and so familiar with the material in my proposed field that, wishing to be certain, I wrote in 1927 asking him if this report were correct, saying that if he did intend to go on I would be delighted to turn over to him the data I had already assembled. Wagner was most cordial and warm in urging me to go ahead, and as the years went by he gave me many helpful suggestions. One great aid was the gift of his annotated copy of Raines' *Bibliography of Texas,* printed in 1896. As the years passed there probably were not more than a dozen or so days when we saw each other face to face, but these included one or two long motor trips with him from Los Angeles to San Francisco, one of them being a most interesting visit to former mining regions; three or four visits of a morning or afternoon with him and Mrs. Wagner, first at their home in Berkeley and later at San Marino; and one or two wonderful visits from him at Morristown. Though we saw each other only occasionally, our letters back and forth, mostly about books and our respective doings, became more and more frequent and even now that he is no longer with us, from time to time I catch myself thinking, "I must write and see what Henry thinks about this." Out of all this grew real affection and when, in 1955, Part I of my Texas bibliography was finally published, it was dedicated "To Henry Raup Wagner The Old Master In Whose Footsteps I have Tried to Follow."

In the years to come Wagner will be remembered as the author of two notable bibliographies, his *The Plains and the Rockies,* San Francisco, 1920 and 1921, and his *The Spanish Southwest,* Berkeley, 1924; as the author of the definitive *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800,* Berkeley, 1937, and as the author of the most satisfactory account of Drake which has yet appeared, his *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World, Its Aims and Achievements,* San Francisco, 1926. His essay, "The Manuscript Atlases of Battista

*This is the second of two articles on the long and fruitful life of Mr. Wagner, a founder of the California Historical Society, to be printed in the *Quarterly*, the first, by Charles L. Camp, having appeared in the March number, pp. 79-82. [Ed.]

Agnese," in the *Papers* of the Bibliographical Society of America, 1931, would have been included if the group having any knowledge of that subject were not so limited. These choices are only the quintessence, so to speak, of a remarkable lot of publications. One hundred and sixty-seven of his writings are listed in *The Published Writings of Henry R. Wagner*, Los Angeles, 1955, a pamphlet written by Wagner and published by the Zamorano Club of Los Angeles in his 93rd year. Many others of his publications are authoritative in their fields, but space precludes the mention of all but a few in what follows here.

As one reviews Wagner's publications, it is striking to see how the foundations of most of them come from his originality and effectiveness as a collector of books and documents. The two bibliographies just mentioned, largely based as they were on his own holdings, resulted directly from this effectiveness as a collector, and his cartographical and historical writings were certainly one of the results of his passion for assembling original accounts or photostats of original documents on subjects which interested him. This is illustrated by his *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America*, San Francisco, 1927, and his *Spanish Explorations in the Straits of Juan de Fuca*, San Francisco, 1933, which were the direct result of his assembling photostats of documents he had examined in the Spanish archives and the archives of Mexico. As he could not collect the original documents, he collected instead their photostats.

Wagner seems to have had an impelling urge to collect, and real originality in his selection of what should be collected. For his active business life, which for all practical purposes ended by 1920 when he was 58 years old, and for some three or four years thereafter when he was still assembling material for the *Spanish Southwest*, his main activities were as a book collector. In that period he assembled a small but choice metallurgical collection, a collection on economics of several thousand pieces, a collection of over 12,000 items on Mexico, especially strong for the revolutionary years 1810-1821, together with upwards of 7000 additional volumes on South America, a collection on Texas and the middle west, a collection of narratives of exploration and travel west of the Mississippi which was the basis of his *The Plains and the Rockies* of 1920, a collection of California imprints which was the basis of his *California Imprints August 1846 June 1851*, printed in 1922, and a collection on the Spanish southwest which was the basis of his *Spanish Southwest* of 1924.

These collections, assembled for the most part while he was still in active business, represent, with the two obvious exceptions of the thousands of volumes on economics and on Mexico-South America, keen discrimination and separation of the wheat from the chaff. Also they represent new fields. Wagner was the first to grasp the importance, that some years later was generally recognized, of the narratives of travel and exploration in the west and of early material on the Spanish southwest. His several later collections, assembled after 1924 – for even then he still had the urge to collect – showed the continued wide range of his interest, but they were of less importance. The whole story is told in his fascinating *Sixty*

Years of Book Collecting, published by the Zamorano Club in 1952, when Wagner was a mere 90 years of age. Though Wagner's collecting activities covered many fields, they had one common characteristic. Once a collection had been assembled and it no longer served a useful purpose, such for example as to be the basis of a bibliography, it was either sold or given away. In that way new funds came in and space became available for new collections.

While his active business career left no time for Wagner to produce then such works as *The Plains and the Rockies* or *The Spanish Southwest*, it did give great opportunities for satisfying his collecting urge. His first real venture in book collecting was to begin getting together what became a small but choice metallurgical collection when as an ore buyer he made a trip to Mexico in 1892. This collection was gradually added to over the years and had upwards of 600 examples when it was given to Yale in 1936. Wagner could remark of it later, in his *Sixty Years of Book Collecting*, that he doubted if there were another such collection anywhere in the world. His second important collection was formed in the years from 1903 to 1906, which were spent in London for the American Smelting and Refining Co. Here Wagner became interested in economic tracts, mostly of the 17th and 18th centuries. As he remarks, "I shifted from the mining and metallurgical end of my collecting to collecting books on money, gold and silver as money, hence and thence to paper money or any other kind of money, and trade. Out of this grew a great economics collection."

His work in London gave him plenty of time to attend English book auctions and for frequent visits to book shops, and also to compile his first bibliography, *Irish Economics: 1700-1783, a Bibliography with Notes*, London, 1907. This was based on his collection of Irish writers on economic subjects, a field which then especially interested him. As anyone knowing his later bibliographies would expect, these notes made alive the list of books which they accompanied. By 1906, when he left England for a several years' tour of duty for American Smelting in Mexico, this economics collection numbered upwards of 6000 volumes. Wagner tells an amusing story of leaving this collection on deposit with the Yale Library in 1907 and finding when he visited the library a few years later that a librarian emeritus had occupied his time with distributing the books in what he thought the most appropriate places. Wagner was very angry and insisted that they again be assembled into a single collection, arranged chronologically, and he paid the library $50 a month for a few years to cover the expense of reassembling. In 1915 the collection was given to Yale after some pieces for his other collections were first removed.

It was during his stay in Mexico, when he "made it a business" to collect books, that Wagner also gathered together an extensive collection on the history and literature of Mexico, with emphasis on the revolutionary period. To this last collection he made many additions, which included some 7000 volumes relating to South America, largely on Chile. He made no bibliographical record of this collection, which, on his return from Mexico in 1915, he sold to Yale for $20,000.

The literary part of this collection was catalogued by Professor Luquiens of Yale and published in 1939 under the title *Spanish American Literature in the Yale University Library*. Wagner comments in his *Sixty Years of Book Collecting* that practically all the literature classified by Professor Luquiens under Mexico was from his collection, and also most of that classified under Chile. He continues with a characteristic Wagner comment, "Professor Luquiens included some history which was not literature and much literature which was actually history."

Two years in Chile for American Smelting followed Wagner's stay in Mexico. It was in Chile where Wagner saw much of Medina – the great South American bibliographer and collector – that he conceived the idea of compiling from Medina's writings a list of books and pamphlets relating to the Spanish southwest to the year 1821 and of getting together a collection on the subject. Early in 1917 a list containing 137 books and pamphlets was sent to various institutions asking for further information for use in preparing a definitive work, and a supplement was printed in Berkeley, in October 1918. Wagner tells us that the only help which these two pamphlets brought forth came from Wilberforce Eames. During his stay in Chile some items for this new collection were bought from Medina, but it was not until his European trip of 1922, referred to here a little later, that this Spanish southwest collection really took shape.

It was in 1918, after his return from Chile, that Wagner, to free his time for books on the Spanish southwest and on California as well as on the plains and Rockies, decided to sell his mid-west and his Texas collections. One of the choice lots in this collection of some 2000 books and pamphlets – 1000 manuscripts and newspapers and over 100 broadsides – was the Berlandier papers bought for Wagner by Quaritch at one of the Sir Thomas Phillipps sales in London in 1913. After considerable negotiation, the mid-west and Texas collections were finally sold to Yale in 1919 for an annuity of $1000, for the lives of Mr. and Mrs. Wagner. In view of my own later activities as a Texas collector, I have always been delighted that Wagner did not write up his Texas collection, for the results of *The Plains and the Rockies* on the prices of books on western exploration and travel were at times almost fantastic.

Wagner as a collector of books and pamphlets will probably be most remembered for his collections on western explorations and travels, afterwards recorded in his *The Plains and the Rockies* (first published in 1920), and his collections on the Spanish southwest, recorded in his *The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794, an Annotated Bibliography*, Berkeley, 1924. To a lesser extent he will be remembered for his *California Imprints, August 1846–June 1851*, Berkeley, 1922. In these three cases, after each collection had been made known by its bibliography, its sale followed and Wagner almost immediately began the exploration of new fields.

We know from Wagner's *Bullion to Books* that he began to get together his collection on travel and western exploration from the Mississippi River to the Rockies as early as 1914. These items had little appeal to collectors before *The*

Plains and the Rockies in its corrected edition of 1921 made them fashionable. Even the booksellers, though conscious from Wagner's purchases that something was going on, paid little attention to them and in the beginning he had the field pretty much to himself. In the Introduction, dated March 1921, to the corrected edition of *The Plains and the Rockies*, Wagner commented on the new prices, mostly due, though he did not say so, to his own buying, remarking on what he called the "exaggerated" advances in the prices of western books, and continuing with the statement, "For a long period these books were entirely neglected and books which now bring $100, twenty-five years ago were unsalable at $1.50." The prices which Wagner in 1920 thought "exaggerated advances" were only a fraction of what many of them reached in later years. The main reason for this was that Wagner had made them known to collectors in his *The Plains and the Rockies*. One of Wagner's great charms was his utter frankness, even when he himself was the subject of his own remarks. Witness his comments on *The Plains and the Rockies* in his *Bullion to Books*, at page 249:

"As I had most of the books annotated in *The Plains and the Rockies* and as I thought that I might be called on to sell them in the near future, a bibliography based on the collection looked to me like a good investment, regardless of the outcome of the sale of the book itself. My general reason was simply a desire that the labor performed in compiling a bibliography should not be lost."

I will always cherish my copy of the 1920 edition of *The Plains and the Rockies* (which was so full of errors that Wagner tried to recall all copies), because, noted by asterisk and only in the preface to this suppressed edition, were the books which were *not* in his own collection. This 1920 edition is important to all those interested in Wagner as a bibliographer and collector because the preface appeared only in that edition. Here he reminisces on his collecting days and tells of his "weakness for what I call pioneer books," and explains how the work is largely made up from first editions of original narratives in his own collection. It tells of his interest in government publications on explorations "which are frequently inaccurately collated," and calls attention to his descriptions of maps when issued with books, a feature almost ignored in other 20th-century regional bibliographies. In his interest in maps, Wagner was a real follower of Harrisse, whose works he collected. The 1921 edition, in 50 special and 350 ordinary copies, was followed in 1937 by an edition edited by Charles L. Camp, with 428 numbered entries, compared with 349 in the two earlier editions, and with a brief new preface by Wagner dated March 1935. In 1953 a third edition, revised by Mr. Camp, was published.

Among the books from Wagner's collection which he made known through his notes in the first, or 1920, edition of *The Plains and the Rockies* was Granville Stuart's *Montana As It Is*, New York, 1865, in printed paper wrappers and with the map. This, bought by him in 1892, is almost unprocurable with the map; at any rate I have tried, without success, for almost 30 years now to get a copy

with the map. Another was his Zenas Leonard of 1839, which he bought for $75 sometime before 1920, calling forth a comment to him at the time from Walter Douglas of Arizona, who had heard of the sale but did not know the buyer was Wagner, "I wonder what damn fool could have paid $75 for that book." W. J. Holliday's copy sold at his auction in 1954 at $4600! Wagner reports, in *Bullion to Books*, having bought Johnson and Winter's *Route Across the Rocky Mountains*, Lafayette, Indiana, 1846, and Joseph Williams' *Narrative of a Tour to the Oregon Territory*, Cincinnati, 1843, from the old Cadmus Book Store in the years before 1920 at $75. That Wagner did not believe in overpaying in those early days is shown by his account of attending the Hubbard sale in May 1914, when he bid up Ingall's *Journal of a Trip to California*, Waukegan, Illinois, 1856, to the then-large sum of $148, when he dropped out of the bidding. Today I suppose this would easily bring upwards of $1000.

Wagner tells us in *Bullion to Books* that he decided in August 1921, to print in *California Imprints, August 1846–June 1851*, Berkeley, 1922, the data he had accumulated on these imprints of the American period ending in 1851; and in his *Sixty Years of Book Collecting* he remarks that he owned the greater part of them. As is the case with his *The Plains and the Rockies* and his *Spanish Southwest*, Wagner's notes feature the books and add greatly to their interest. One of the most interesting features of *California Imprints* is the information he gives about the newspapers of the period.

In 1922, after the publication of *California Imprints* and the corrected edition of *The Plains and the Rockies*, Wagner sold to Henry E. Huntington not only his then-holdings of the material in those two bibliographies, but various other smaller collections he had been assembling. These included original editions of early books on the northwest coast, and California books printed before and after those listed in *California Imprints*. This left the decks clear for adding to his holdings of books and broadsides on the Spanish southwest and writing the notes for that great bibliography, for, as Wagner remarks in *Sixty Years of Book Collecting*, "With these various transactions my interest in overland narratives and western material generally ceased."

When Wagner began to assemble material for what later was included in *The Spanish Southwest, 1542-1794*, the field was almost unknown. It is true that Medina in his various bibliographies had listed, but with a minimum of notes, many books on the Spanish southwest, but they were buried in a mass of other entries until Wagner in 1917 extracted from the voluminous Medina writings, and published in a few copies for librarians, the list already referred to, of some 137 books and pamphlets relating to that region. As was the case with *The Plains and the Rockies* and *California Imprints*, the bibliography, published in 1924, was largely based on Wagner's own collection, and he remarks in his introduction, "I myself at one time or other had in my possession nearly all the principal titles I have described." He goes on to say that it was his first intention to include only works printed in Spanish, and only those in their original editions, but after some years

he decided to include subsequent editions and translations, and later still works not originally published in Spanish. It was not until the winter of 1922-1923, when Mr. and Mrs. Wagner spent some months in Spain, that his acquisition of the collection of books on the Spanish southwest owned by the daughter of Pedro Vindel gave Wagner a really distinguished collection on that subject, a collection far exceeding in its main items that in any other library. In his *Sixty Years of Book Collecting* he remarks on the Pedro Vindel collection, "When I saw them my eyes bulged; never had I dreamed that such books could exist . . . they formed the basis really for . . . The Spanish Southwest . . . Of 177 main items in this book I owned about 74 and had previously sold to Mr. Huntington several others which were duplicates."

The Spanish Southwest records broadsides, pamphlets and books relating to what are now parts of Texas, New Mexico, Arizona and California. Its fascinating and scholarly notes tell us of the early history of those regions as far as it had been dealt with in contemporary printed material. It is an indispensable work for anyone interested in the beginnings of those parts of our country. *The Spanish Southwest* was originally published in 1924, in an edition of 20 special copies bound in vellum priced at $50 each, and 116 ordinary copies priced at $30 each. In October 1926, Wagner sent to all known holders two further sheets, one a new entry to be tipped in; and another with a list of 80 of the then-known holders, and a few corrections and minor additions. As this 1924 edition soon became out of print, in 1937 the Quivira Society published, in an edition of 401 numbered copies, a reprinting in two volumes. This added several bibliographical descriptions and items to the census. One of the interests of the first edition of 1924 is its inclusion in the census of Wagner's own holdings. This census, by the way, was as a rule only given for the original editions of the more uncommon pieces, with only a few listings of holdings of later editions, which, as just noted, were added later. No census is given, for example, of fairly common items such as No. 158, the first edition of Chappe D'Auteroche's *Voyage en Californie Pour L'Observation du Passage de Venus*, Paris, 1772. In the 1937 edition most of Wagner's holdings are located with the late Herschel V. Jones of Minneapolis, to whom they had been sold by Lathrop C. Harper. Wagner, following his custom, had sold his collection of Spanish southwest books to Harper in the summer of 1924, shortly before publication of the bibliography. In his *The Published Writings of Henry R. Wagner*, he has a note which illustrates the lack of interest at the time in such a noteworthy source book on the beginnings of an important part of the United States. He tells us, with his usual frankness, in a note to the entry for the 1937 edition, that "After some struggle Dr. George Hammond succeeded in selling all but one hundred copies. In order to dispose of these I suggested they be sent to members who had not purchased the book. By this method he disposed of all but three or four copies."

In his *Bullion to Books*, Wagner makes the comment that his essay, "The Manuscript Atlases of Battista Agnese," published in 1931 in the *Papers* of the

Bibliographical Society of America, "is perhaps the most finished piece of work which I ever turned out." Recently Lawrence Wroth told me he thought that Wagner in this essay had done a beautiful job of organizing unorganized material, by differentiating for the first time the different classes of those atlases and showing up the pseudo Battista atlases. For those of us for whom the manuscript atlases of Agnese are a somewhat recondite subject, *The Spanish Southwest* usually is regarded not only as the top Wagner bibliography, but as one of the best regional bibliographies for all time.

With *The Spanish Southwest* published and the sale of the collection on which it was largely based concluded, Wagner turned from bibliography to cartography, with the northwest coast its main subject. His *Some Imaginary California Geography*, a brilliant essay based on an article he first published in the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society in October 1924, and on a paper read before the American Antiquarian Society in April 1926, was published, together with eight illustrative maps, as a separate in 1926. At the same time he turned to what he called "my first love," his *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage around the World, its Aims and Achievements . . .*, San Francisco, 1926. As with Wagner's other works, it is based largely on manuscript sources, including much material he had had photostated on his European trip of 1922-1923. Wagner subjected the various accounts of the expedition to critical analysis and remarks in his *Bullion to Books*, "I believe I was successful in destroying some of the legends about the voyage." Informed scholars go much further and call it the most important work thus far on Drake.

As many of his friends knew, Wagner was quite sceptical of the authenticity of the so-called Drake plate, discovered, so to speak, in the 1930's, which had received the strong endorsement of the late Herbert E. Bolton. Shortly after this discovery Wagner and I drove in his car to the location of the find, and the next day he took me with him for a call on Bolton in his room at the Bancroft Library. I was a little apprehensive as to how this call would proceed, but as I remember the occasion, though Bolton discoursed at some length on the plate, which was then in his office, Wagner, contrary to his usual frankness of speech, started no argument and generally was most polite.

Since the early 1920's, one of Wagner's fundamental interests, as said above, was the cartography of the northwest coast. To make available source material on that subject, in 1927, in the *Quarterly* of the California Historical Society, he began the publication of translations of journals of Spanish explorations on that coast, which he had found in the Spanish archives at Seville early in 1923. Each translation was preceded by his historical sketch. After 7 installments had appeared in the *Quarterly*, these, with many changes made later by Wagner, were published by the Society in September 1929, under the title *Spanish Voyages to the Northwest Coast of America in the Sixteenth Century*. Wagner loved to go into the financial side of his scholarly publications, and reports that 415 copies were priced at $15 each and twenty-five specially bound and extra illustrated copies at $30 each.

This was followed in 1933 by the publication of 18th-century journals relating to later explorations that Wagner had found in the Mexican archives. These documents, preceded by Wagner's comments, were published under the title *Spanish Explorations in the Strait of Juan de Fuca*, Santa Ana, California, 1933. Though, as Wagner had said, the book was full of important and hitherto unpublished information, it "fell on the market with a dull and heavy thud and I finally had to destroy seventy-five volumes for which there was absolutely no market."

His long-standing interest came to full fruition in *The Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800*, University of California Press, Berkeley, 1937. This notable work incorporated the results of his 15-years' study, much of it already published in his articles in historical society proceedings and elsewhere. As he remarks in his Foreword, the principal sources of the text were original documents, either printed or still in manuscript, many of the printed documents having first been published by him, and little had been written on the subject by anyone else. A most valuable feature of *The Cartography* is the bibliography in Volume II, with entries, almost always accompanied by notes, for 862 maps.

In his *Bullion to Books*, Wagner remarks that in 1935 the *Cartography* was the only important piece of work left on his hands. In saying this he quite correctly considered as completed, though still in manuscript, his *Supplement to the Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVI* of Joaquin García Icazbalceta. Wagner had long been an admirer of Icazbalceta, whose *Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVI*, published in Mexico in 1886, he characterized as "one of the best pieces of bibliographical work ever printed," and in the three years ending in 1935 he had written a sketch of Icazbalceta's life and a bibliography of his writings which had been published in the April 1934 *Proceedings* of the American Antiquarian Society. In this period he had also written the *Supplement* just referred to. The first part is a story of absorbing interest on the bibliographers and collectors who had been attracted to early Mexican books. Following this, brief entries are given for 16th-century books recorded first by Icazbalceta, and the additions of later bibliographers, including Wagner himself, with much detail about their provenance, location of copies, and so on.

Wagner despaired of being able to publish this *Supplement*, but in 1937, when, as he says, he had almost forgotten the manuscript, Icazbalceta's grandson, Joaquin García Pimental, came to the rescue and offered to have the work translated into Spanish and published in Mexico. Though the printing had been completed in 1939, it was not finally published until 1946 when it appeared under the title *Nueva Bibliografía Mexicana del Siglo XVI Suplemento a las Bibliografías de Don Joaquin García Icazbalceta, Don José Toribio Medina y Don Nicolás León.* With his usual felicity of phrase, Lawrence C. Wroth in a review of the *Nueva Bibliografía*, published late in 1946, remarks, "The study becomes without question one of that distinguished group of Mexican bibliographies which it was de-

signed to supplement." One of my prize possessions is Wagner's gift to me of the typewritten manuscript of the English text of the *Supplement*.

Though I am afraid this article is already too long, mention must be made of Wagner's *The Rise of Fernando Cortes*, published by the Cortes Society in the year 1944, when Wagner was 82 years old. This is in a sense a continuation of the two earlier works of Wagner's published by the Cortes Society in 1942, his *The Discovery of Yucatan by Francisco Hernandez de Cordoba*, and *The Discovery of New Spain in 1518 by Juan de Grijalva*, both having added to the titles just given "A Translation of the Original Texts with an Introduction and Notes." Wagner's *Rise of Fernando Cortes* illustrates his passion for facts and for detail, and as a reviewer has said, "Mr. Wagner's telling of [the story] is as factual as a photograph." It is a book for the student rather than the general reader, but it does give a record to which one can always turn for enlightenment.

The last publication listed in *The Published Writings of Henry R. Wagner* is his *Peter Pond, Yankee Fur Trader and Explorer*, New Haven, 1955, with its introduction dated San Marino, August 1954. This again illustrates Wagner's keen interest, which he had to the last, in making known unrecorded maps and documents on subjects of general interest. A short life of Pond had been published 20-odd years earlier, so Wagner's primary purpose here was to reproduce maps, 3 in all, that he had found in earlier years in the archives of London, Paris and Toronto, and to reprint certain documents on Pond found in those archives.

Wagner's collections of imprints of the Zamorano press of California and of the beginnings of printing in New Mexico – both of which I was fortunate enough to acquire from him when the zest of collecting had been dulled by possession – and his other collecting interests such as the imprints of diverse presses like those of the beginnings of printing in Tahiti and those of the Grabhorn press of California, should be dealt with on some other occasion. They reënforce the thesis of this article, that the urge to collect, whether original copies of books and maps or photostats of original documents and maps, was throughout his career Wagner's dominating interest and the basis for his activities as a bibliographer. When to this urge for collecting was added the urge as a historian, armed with a keen intellectual curiosity to record in the notes what these books or maps signified, Wagner's supremacy as a bibliographer was the result. While his habit of mind of piling facts on facts, down to minor details, had been criticized when these were recorded at length as in the text of his *Rise of Fernando Cortes*, this same habit of mind, when not all spelled out in print, is one reason for the discoveries that have made his *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World* the best of all accounts of Drake.

Scholars will always be grateful to Wagner as a bibliographer for having made known the narratives of 19th-century exploration and travel to the west of the Mississippi, and the original printed material on the Spanish southwest. Again they will always be grateful to him as a cartographer and historian for his pioneer work in making known the cartography of the northwest coast of America, in

listing and commenting on its significant maps, and in his definitive account of one of the great voyages of history. Finally, the lives of those of us who were fortunate enough to know Wagner not only as the master in these fields of learning, but as a companionable and responsive friend, have been enriched by many happy memories.

ANSON S. BLAKE ON THE SOCIETY'S "INFANT YEARS"

In attempting to give an account of the April 1928 meeting of the California Historical Society, at which Mme. Emilie Melville, one of San Francisco's favorite actresses of the 1860's-70's, had been the speaker, Mr. Blake (then secretary of the Society) admitted that it was "useless" to describe the event. He had, he said, "no capacity to condense the comments or select from the incidents, what would give to the absent member any conception of its flavor. . . ." On May 9, 1957, he himself was the speaker, and posed the same difficulty for this reviewer: how could the "absent member" be given an adequate idea of the way in which Mr. Blake retraced the sometimes latent, sometimes quite evident, drama of the Society's infanthood, for which the interval 1886-93 – the life-span of the earlier California Historical Society – served as curtain-raiser.

In the winter of 1921-22, C. Templeton Crocker of San Francisco invited to lunch a group of people who, presumably, would be interested in activating the inactive, earlier California Historical Society. The parts played by members of this original group and by their successors are indicated by their choice of means whereby activation would be insured: (1) establishment of headquarters during May 1922 in room 508 of the old Wells Fargo Express Building, 80 Second Street, San Francisco, with pictures and maps from Henry R. Wagner's collection affixed to its walls and with Mr. Crocker's own large and valuable library installed in the adjoining room (in 1927, the headquarters were moved to the third floor of the Western Women's Club at 609 Sutter Street, San Francisco); (2) the holding of a public luncheon on May 9, 1922, for the purpose of arousing interest, with Mr. Wagner as speaker; (3) creation of a publication committee, with R. E. Cowan *chairman*, and with J. H. Nash and Mr. Wagner as the other members, resulting in the appearance of Vol. I, No. I (July 1922) of the Society's QUARTERLY; (4) the installation of Miss Dorothy Huggins as corresponding secretary,

an office which, under her, combined all the graces of research-expert, receptionist, and librarian, with the forthrightness of stenographer, bookkeeper, and custodian of the Society's revolving cash fund.

Luncheon meetings were considered fundamental to the Society's success, and in 1923 C. O. G. Miller "easily rated," Mr. Blake said, "as number one in swelling the membership rolls" by regularly reserving a table of 8 for himself and guests. Speakers were of a quality to match the menu (at the St. Francis or at the Clift), among them being: omnivorous collectors of early-day diaries, letters, pictures, Spanish California reprints – even of San Francisco street-car transfers; specialists on the Pony Express; on explorers and explorations; on the pioneers of the Sierra Nevada; on famous battles, borderwise and within the borders; on the mines; on lines of communication; on J. Wesley Jones' "Pantoscope of California"; on commercial relations; on relations with other bonanza sites; on early plant life in the adobe bricks of missions and ranchos, and the dating of these structures thereby; on "romance" (Gertrude Atherton on Rezanov and Concha Argüello); on M.D.'s and their sponges; on law suits; on the debunking of fancy in favor of fact in California history, but not to the exclusion of "Some Romantic Realities" therein by another speaker; on early-day orchards; on Golden Gate Park; on early botanists; on Mark Twain; and on certain phases of California's literature; on the state's oil industry; etc.

Mr. Blake pointed out how two of the ways selected to insure activation – the luncheon meetings just described (including the highly successful out-of-town ones) and the Society's publications – worked together to stimulate its progress; namely, that the research, the thoroughness of which had been previously demonstrated in luncheon-meeting addresses, often found preservation in the QUARTERLY, along with the original diaries, letters, and reminiscences of persons in various walks of California life. Changes in the publication-committee's personnel were recorded by Mr. Blake: the addition of Charles L. Camp and Mr. Crocker in 1923; Mr. Wagner's succeeding of Mr. Cowan as chairman, and, in 1925, Mr. Camp replacing Mr. Wagner when the latter moved to San Marino; then, in 1927, Carl I. Wheat in turn replacing Mr. Camp, to release him for increased paleontological work at the University of California. Meanwhile, in 1924, QUARTERLY publication dates were changed *from* January, April, July, October, *to* March, June, September, and December, as now. The QUARTERLY's success, the speaker said, "was not only local, for it was being sought by libraries across the country." Another change, mentioned by Mr. Blake, was determined upon at the December 1925 meeting of the board of directors when their number was increased from 11 to 15.

The growth of the Society was stimulated also by the exhibition of Californiana of various kinds, such as the display that was made available to the public during the week of October 13-18, 1924, at the Bohemian Club in San Francisco, when 39 members and 6 non-members of the Society provided enough historical material to fill the Club's large exhibit room.

Summing up his detailed chronological account of the years 1922-30 in the life of the California Historical Society, the speaker attributed to "three influences outside of any action of our own" the fact that at the present time "the membership commitee has an easier field to cultivate." The first of these influences, he said, has been the effect on the public consciousness of "the teaching of Herbert E. Bolton [now deceased] and that of his many pupils who have gone into the teaching profession"; the second, the series of centennials, which have aroused the interest of newcomers and have furthered the growth of the numerous county historical societies; and the third is the existence of great collections of historical matter in the state library at Sacramento, at the Bancroft Library in Berkeley, and the Huntington in San Marino.

The generosity of the early group of supporters of the "infant" society was noteworthy – not only did they make gifts of money to tide over expenses, but gifts of rare Californiana, and of their own time and experience. And, while on the subject of experience, its importance (to cite one example) in arriving at the decision that the Society should act as moderator in controversial discussions, instead of as judge and jury, should not be overlooked.

Mr. Blake closed his address with a series of biographical notes (pp. 22-27 of his manuscript) on the directors who had served the Society in its early years. We are glad to report that he has placed a verbatim copy of his exceedingly valuable address in the library at 2090 Jackson Street and that it will be available for study upon application.

Marginalia

NOTES ON AUTHORS IN THIS ISSUE:

For biographical notes on J. N. BOWMAN (former historian of the state's central record depository, Sacramento), JOHN D. HICKS, and H. E. RENSCH, see, respectively, this QUARTERLY, Dec. 1946, p. 379; March 1945, p. 93; and Sept. 1955, p. 286.

THOMAS W. STREETER (*b.* Concord, N. H., 1883; Dartmouth College 1904, also honorary Litt.D., 1946; Harvard Univ., LL.B., 1907) was admitted to the Massachusetts bar in 1907. Of his many activities, there is space here for mention only of some of those in the field of scholarship: namely, his presidency of the Bibliographical Society of America 1941-44, after which he served as its treasurer 1944-48; and his membership on the council of the American Antiquarian Society since 1942, president since 1952. Recently published by the Harvard Univ. Press is his *Bibliography of Texas, 1795-1845*, in 3 vols.

"The Vineyards of Gen. M. G. Vallejo," by Mrs. Madie D. Brown; and an article on "The Visual Knowledge of California to 1700," by Miss Arda M. Haenszel, are among the papers scheduled for publication in the September 1957 QUARTERLY.

Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund. Below are the names that have been inscribed since the commencement of the memorial:

Frank Howard Allen
Joseph Emmanuel Anderson
Marion Atkins
Thomas P. Bacon
A. R. Baldwin
Isabelle Ball
Arthur John Bancroft
Eleanor Ashby Bancroft
Oscar Thomas Barber
Harvey Wetmore Beard
Jessie Beard
Rae Griswold Behrens
Harry C. Bell
Edward Washington Bender
Mrs. Marcus P. Bennett
Katharine Esther Bennitt
Julia Stamper Berman
Mariana Bertola, M.D.
Edith Ward Berwyn
Clarence Leo Best
Francis Edward Bishop
Sally McKee Black
Lilian Hoogs Blaisdell
Edwin T. Blake
Hope Bliss
Herbert Eugene Bolton
Charles Philip Boone
Eleanor Smith Boone
Marie Wilson Bradley
Philip Read Bradley
Paul W. Brannon
Arthur H. Breed
LeRoy H. Briggs, M.D.
Dora Brock
Frances Des Marais Brogan
Ella M. Brooke
Leonard W. Buck, M.D.
Eldridge Ayer Burbank
John R. Burns
Charlotte Wilson Cadwalader
George Toland Cameron
Rumsey Campbell
William W. Carruth
Katherine Thayer Cate
William Cavalier
Bessie Hobart Chapman
Isaac Flint Chapman
William Crist Charlton
Ralph Perry Chessall, D.D.S.
William A. Chick
Randolph Clement
Etta W. Coleman
Mary Murdock Compton
Frederick Herman Coon
Oscar Cooper
George Mackey Cornwall
Lilian A. Cross
Thomas G. Crothers
Florence Osterero Cullen
Abraham Lincoln Danziger
Lilly E. Davis
Jerry W. DeCou
Monroe E. Deutsch
Angelo R. Duperu
Alice Eastwood
Maude Wyman Eberts
Ernest Frank Eckhardt
Glada V. Elden
Paul Eliel
Minnie Walker Engs
Alfred I. Esberg
Helen Richardson Espy
Edward Lilburn Eyre
Joseph Faunt Le Roy
Estelle Lyon Fay
Edward B. Field
Herbert Fleishhacker
Roy S. Folger
Rita Manning Foster
Thomas G. Franck
George August Fuhrig
Amy Corder Gaines

Dan Gallagher
Robert B. Gaylord
Alfred Ghirardelli
Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Frank Carroll Giffen
William M. Gilliland
Eliza Jane Gilman
Mary Glide Goethe
Lutie D. Goldstein
Irene L. Goudey
Olive Martha Gould
Charles Francis Griffin, M.D.
Abraham P. Hankes
Phil Townsend Hanna
Warren Thomas Hannum
Lowell E. Hardy
Jessie Vaughan Harrier
Margaret N. Hart
Frederick Harvey
Thomas Norman Harvey
William Dunn Henley
Armand Leon Hering
John Raymond Herman
Flodden W. Heron
Emily Coey Hittell
Elois F. Hodges
Mabel L. Holmes
Mary Pardow Hooper
John Howell
Grant James Hunt
Joseph Henry Jackson
J. J. Jackson
Erwina Janin
Virginia Utz Jobe
Caroline Lendelof Johnson
George Keil
Frederick B. Kellam
Gareth Kellam
Alfred Brooks Kennedy
Arthur C. Kennedy
George E. Kennedy
Gerald Driscoll Kennedy
Elizabeth Thacher Kent
Emma T. Kessler
Ansel R. Kinne
Dudley Kinsell
Helen Kinsell
Emelyn West Knowland
Eva M. Koch
Elma Farnham Kroll
Ethel A. Krook
William James Laing
Philip Van Horne Lansdale
William C. Latham
Abbie Hyde Lewis
Azro N. Lewis
James L'Hommedieu
William J. Lindenberger
Douglas Stuart Loud
George Davis Louderback
Edna Hopkins Lowrey
George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.
Helen Flint Lyman
M. Hall McAllister
Richard Henry McCarthy
Ruby McCormick
Zella Jane McCreary
James H. McDonough
Jean Howard McDuffie
Jean Parker McEwen
Blanche Baldwin McGaw
Charles M. MacGregor
Eileen Leonard McInerny, M.D.
Richard McLaren
John A. McNear
Robert L. McWilliams
John Ward Mailliard, Jr.
Arthur S. Maloon
Edna Rodden Martin
Irving Martin
William O'Hara Martin
Winifred M. Menzies
Charles Washington Merrill
George Lovett Merwin
Helen Knox Merwin
Olga M. Meyer
Della Middleton
C. O. G. Miller
Ethel Rawles Miller
Ruth Comfort Mitchell
Herbert C. Moffitt, M.D.
James Kennedy Moffitt
Marguerite Moffitt
Joseph A. Moore
F. J. Morin
Helen Freer Morris
La Verne Scott Moss
D. J. Murphy
Richard H. Musson
Ruby Muther
Ralph W. Myers
John J. Newbegin

Mrs. William H. Nolan
Frank H. Norcross
Thomas Wayne Norris
Frank M. Ogden
Albert Leslie Oliver
Edwin Letts Oliver
Emily Oliviera
Mrs. E. O. C. Ord
Martha Lamberton Osmer
William G. Paden
Paul Paine
Whitney Palache
Robert J. Parker
Edwin Parrish
Julia Reynolds Parrish
Haig Patigian
Henry Hawley Patterson
May Hawley Patterson
Ann May Perry
Barbara Peters
Mrs. G. Baltzer Peterson
John Petrusich
Thomas L. Phillips
Minna Dohrmann Pischel
Paul P. Pitchlynn
Eloise LaVanche Moore Pius
Elizabeth Keith Pond
George A. Pope
Mrs. George A. Pope
Margaret James Porter
Mary Easton Porter
Katharine Hutchinson Post
J. Sheldon Potter
Mabel Gray Potter
Frank J. Reagan
Ida M. Reed
Mrs. Mark Requa
Ralph A. Reynolds, M.D.
Ruth Loring Richardson
Thomas M. Robinson, Jr.
Kernan Robson
Lester Roth
Laura Carmany Rulofson
Warren Russell
Julia D. Sammer
Walter Hans Schubert
Irving Murray Scott, Jr.
William C. Sharpsteen
Charles McDowell Sharpsten
Edward J. Sheppard
William Henry Shine
Sevilla Hayden Shuey
Frederick Ortman Shumate, M.D.
Gertrude Miller Simmons
Louis F. Sinsheimer
Paul A. Sinsheimer
John Joaquin Smith
Henrietta L. Stadtmuller
Rosalie Meyer Stern
William Ely Stewart
W. Foster Stewart
Herbert F. Suhr
J. D. Sweeney
Mrs. Leslie Symmes
Lewis Madison Terman
Willard Brown Thorp
L. Deming Tilton
Reuben Lukens Underhill
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In Memoriam

PAUL BANCROFT

On April 25, 1957, at his home in San Francisco, occurred the death of Paul Bancroft (*b.* Aug. 22, 1877, Oakland, Calif.), eldest son of Hubert H. and Matilda Cooley Griffing Bancroft.

As a youth he was, as his youngest brother says,* "the hardest and most conscientious worker" of the Bancroft boys. Consequently one is not over-surprised to find him, at the age of 10 years and with the encouragement of his mother, occupying the position of "Proprietor" of some poultry yards in San Diego,** where his father had invested in city and country real-estate – the Bancroft Block adjoining the Horton House Block on the north in the city itself, and "several farms at convenient distance." The possibilities of poultry culture as they appear to the young "proprietor" are set forth in a rare, tiny pamphlet, which nevertheless finds room enough to supply the prospective buyer with likenesses of the varieties recommended – Plymouth Rocks, Light Brahmas, Wyandottes, and Brown Leghorns, not forgetting Bronze Turkeys. Altogether it constitutes a piece of important historical writing about southern California's early years in a great statewide industry. (The following year – Feb. 2, 1888 – an advertisement in the San Diego Weekly *Union* urges poultry raisers in that area to "hatch chickens with the Petaluma Incubator, the most successful machine made.")

Still a "conscientious worker" with a side line in music when he reached college age, Paul Bancroft applied himself to the exacting curriculum of Harvard University, from which he was graduated in 1899.

Upon the senior Bancroft's death in 1918, Paul, fresh from service in World War I, took over the management of the family properties, including, besides the Bancroft Building at 731 Market Street in San Francisco and other real estate, etc., a large acreage planted to fruits and walnuts along the Tuolumne River near Modesto. His services to the public as a supervisor of San Francisco received special recognition when the mayor and the board joined in sending the following expressions of regret to his family when his death was announced:

WHEREAS, The members of this Board of Supervisors have been profoundly saddened to learn of the death of Paul Bancroft, former member of this Board . . . and

WHEREAS, The passing of Paul Bancroft brings to a close a most distinguished career of accomplishments and achievements which included rendition of conspicuously productive services in the development of our Civic Center . . . and

WHEREAS . . . their sorrow at his passing will be tempered by the constant remembrance of his numberless openhearted and civic-minded activities . . . now, therefore, be it

RESOLVED, That the Board of Supervisors of the City and County of San Francisco adjourn its meeting this day . . . and that suitable copies of this resolution be tendered to Mrs. Louise H. Bancroft and Mr. Paul Bancroft, Jr. . . .

[*Resolution introduced April 29, 1957, by Supervisor Henry R. Rolph.*]

Mrs. Louise Hazzard Bancroft, formerly of San Diego, survives her husband; also surviving of the immediate family are Paul Bancroft, Jr.; a grandson, Paul Bancroft III; a brother, Philip Bancroft; and a sister, Miss Lucy Bancroft. Mr. Bancroft joined the California Historical Society in October 1922, thus lending it his support in the formative years of its reactivation. He has been a sustaining member for over 10 years.

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

*Philip Bancroft, *Hubert Howe Bancroft* (San Francisco: privately printed, 1948), n.p. The second son, Griffing Bancroft, Sr., died in May 1955, at the age of 76.

***Pablo Poultry Yards of San Diego, California,* published in San Francisco by The History Company in 1887 – the year after the Bancroft headquarters in San Francisco were destroyed by fire. (Copy of pamphlet in Bancroft Library, Berkeley.)

MRS. RANDOLPH HUNTINGTON MINER

The death of Mrs. Randolph Huntington (Tulita Wilcox) Miner in Pasadena at the age of 89 brings to mind administrative, military, and land-holding details of California history which in her personality and career seemed to have reached a most comely and elegant blossoming.

Her great-great-grandfather was José Dario Argüello. After his arrival in California in 1781, he became, successively, commandant at San Francisco, Monterey, and Santa Barbara; he was acting-governor of California 1814-15, also governor of Lower California afterwards, and was said by Bancroft to have been for many years "the most prominent, influential, and respected man in California."*** Mrs. Miner's descent from him and his wife Ignacia Moraga was through their son Santiago Argüello (military officer; grantee of Tia Juana and Trabuco ranchos; brother to Concepcion Argüello of Nikolai Rezanov fame) and Pilar Ortega, Santiago's wife; thence, through their son Santiago E. Argüello and his wife Guadalupe Estudillo, parents of María Antonia Argüello; and thence through the latter, who, after her marriage to A. H. Wilcox,‡‡ became the mother of Tulita Wilcox Miner.

Mrs. Miner was born in the coastal town of San Diego, where at various times members of her branch of the Argüello family had held important offices. She was reared amongst the sea-fed breezes of San Francisco, and after her marriage to Randolph Huntington Miner—an Annapolis graduate—she became even more familiar with the sea and its ports as she followed his ship on its tours of duty. When he retired, the Miners settled in Los Angeles; not for long, however. With the outbreak of World War I he returned to active service, while she undertook

the responsibilities that went with administering California's share in the activities of the American Red Cross.

The coming of peace found the Miners living in Europe, where they were at the time of his death in 1933. She then returned to the United States and took up her residence in Washington, D. C. When the second world war broke out, she again offered her services to the Red Cross, which this time found important use for them in the translating of its foreign correspondence. Peace being once more established, we find her in 1949 back in San Francisco; but after two years or so in the Bay area and with some 84 years to her credit, southern California offered powerful attractions. Here—not, nevertheless, until several years had passed—Mrs. Miner died on February 18, 1957. To quote an appreciative San Francisco writer: "Though this charming friend has left us, she lives in the hearts and minds of all who had the pleasure of knowing her."†

Surviving are her niece, Mrs. Sayre Macneil of Pasadena; a grandniece and 3 grandnephews, together with their 12 children. Mrs. Miner, a member of the California Historical Society since April 1950, had become a sustaining member in January 1953.

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

***H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1884-90), II, 701.

‡‡*Ibid.*, II, 703. An earlier (1818) sea captain of the same surname—James Smith Wilcox—was said to have been a suitor for the hand of Concepcion Argüello. (*Ibid.*, II, 78 (note); V, 774). See also Los Angeles *Times*, Feb. 19, 1957, part 3, for informative account of Mrs. Miner's career.

†Susan Smith, in San Francisco *Examiner*, March 12, 1957.

MARGARET JOLLIFFE MOFFITT

Margaret Jolliffe Moffitt, a native of San Francisco and widow of Dr. Herbert C. Moffitt, died on January 21, 1957, at St. Francis Memorial Hospital in San Francisco.

Mrs. Moffitt was a daughter of the English-born Capt. William Howard Jolliffe,†† and in their youth she and her sisters—Eleanor, Harriet, Mary, Frances (one-time writer for the San Francisco *Bulletin*), Virginia and Gertrude— were considered among the most attractive girls in the Bay region. Eleanor married Rudolph Spreckels; Virginia became the wife of Daniel C. Jackling, prominent mining man; while Gertrude, the youngest, married Dr. Herbert W. Allen, clinical professor of medicine at the University of California School of Medicine in San Francisco since July 1928, and professor emeritus at the time of his death on

April 21, 1955. Of the Jolliffe sisters, Mrs. Jackling and Mrs. Allen remain, and by their presence refresh our memories of a delightful group.

Dr. Herbert C. Moffitt,‡ Mrs. Moffitt's husband, who died on February 5, 1951, was one of the country's most noted diagnosticians, and from 1912 to 1918 was dean of the University of California School of Medicine. Its great teaching hospital is named for him.

Besides her two sisters and a brother, William Howard Jolliffe, Mrs. Moffitt is survived by her son, Dr. Herbert C. Moffitt, Jr.; a daughter, Mrs. Frederick Trapnell; 6 grandchildren, and 3 great-grandchildren. Mrs. Moffitt was a lady of great personal charm; she was beloved by a large circle of friends, who join with her family in mourning her death.

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

††According to the Calif. Hist. Soc. biographical file (S. F. Morning *Call*, Aug. 22, 1883), Capt. Jolliffe arrived on the Pacific coast in 1850, serving first as a pilot on the Sacramento River. In 1851 he was commissioned a bar pilot, and for several years thereafter was "port commodore" at San Francisco.

‡Dr. Moffitt (Univ. Calif., 1889) received his M.D. degree from the Harvard Medical School in 1894. He and Mrs. Moffitt were married in 1899, and the next year he began his long connection with the state university's School of Medicine. (Courtesy Mr. Louis Bell, office of public information, Medical Center, San Francisco.)

EDWIN VERNE VAN AMRINGE

Edwin V. Van Amringe, son of John Edwin and Maude Squire Van Amringe, passed away December 14, 1956, on the campus of Pasadena City College, where he had taught chemistry and geology from the inception of the college in 1924, and had been chairman of the physical science department since 1949.

Mr. Van Amringe was born in Oakland on August 24, 1899. His maternal grandfather, Henry Charles Squire, emigrated from England in 1852 and settled in San Francisco, where he helped organize the Fireman's Fund Insurance Co. and was one of its officers. The younger man's early years were spent in the San Francisco Bay area, and here began his lifelong fascination for the history of the west, later to manifest itself in numerous collections of historical interest which he willingly shared with others through his classes, talks to service clubs, and other community groups.

Following his primary and secondary school years in Oakland, Van Amringe entered the University of California in Berkeley, earning part of his expenses by working in the university library. With a bachelor's degree in chemistry (1921)

and a master's in education (1923), he accepted teaching positions in chemistry, first in Sebastopol and later in Oakland, before moving to Pasadena. His interest in geology soon becoming paramount, he sought further training in the subject at the California Institute of Technology.

Through the succeeding years, prominent among his contributions to geological education were the 25 annual geology field trips which he conducted for his students during their Easter vacations. In the course of these trips, students by the score were exposed not only to the exhilaration of seeing nature's processes at work (or possibly quiescent) on the visible landscape, but of being admitted into a profound appreciation of her methods. The Easter trips also initiated Professor Van Amringe's students into a knowledge of mining and refining operations and, still further on the practical side, into a mastery of the techniques of cooking and sleeping in the open. Lectures were also prepared for delivery to his students when their excursions led them into the vicinity of historic sites.

As an indication of the esteem in which he was held by faculty and students at Pasadena City College, the Edwin V. Van Amringe Memorial Geology Scholarship Fund has been established, with the purpose of making one or more annual awards to assist worthy and needy students in the field of the geological sciences.

Mr. Van Amringe was a member of the American Association of Petroleum Geologists, a fellow of the Geological Society of America, and an honorary life member of the Mineralogical Society of Southern California (founder and past-president) — to name but a few of the organizations with whose aims his broad and generous type of mind placed him in sympathy. He had been a member of the California Historical Society since March 1949.

Surviving him are his wife Viola Hail Van Amringe, and a son John Howard Van Amringe of Santa Monica.

H. Stanton Hill Charles P. Yale

BLANCHE COLLET WAGNER

After an active life of over 83½ years (*b.* Oct. 26, 1873), Mrs. Blanche Henriette Collet Wagner of San Marino died on May 16, 1957, barely 7 weeks after the death of her husband, Henry Raup Wagner, LL.D., mining expert, historian, bibliographer . . ., whose obituary by Charles L. Camp appeared in the preceding issue of this Quarterly.

Mrs. Wagner was a native of Grenoble, France, the daughter of Étienne Collet, architect and sculptor. As a child she accompanied him to galleries and museums, so that her artistic talents were developed early in life. Upon her father's death, Blanche, not yet 20 years old, came to Chicago with members of her family, but the climate not agreeing with her, she decided to move on to California. Then

followed several years in Mexico. On July 17, 1917, she became the wife of Mr. Wagner. The year 1919 found them established in a flat in New York City, where, during his absence in Chile on mining affairs, she studied batik. He records in his *Bullion to Books* (Los Angeles, 1942), pp. 235, 243, that she "became quite proficient in it." This led to lessons in painting. Here again she showed talent coupled with a willingness to work hard, which in their turn brought results in the holding of exhibits and in commendation from critics.

For some years (until 1928), the Wagners lived "happily," as he says, in the tree-planted area of Claremont, Berkeley. He had purchased a house overlooking the Golden Gate, and spent money and time in its improvement. Mrs. Wagner, meanwhile, concentrated on the garden, but continued to paint and exhibit her work in the San Francisco Bay region and elsewhere.

Her most numerous collection of paintings, "Headdresses of Women through the Centuries," was done as an educational service. They are preserved in the Santa Ana Museum, while her paintings of Maya Indian headdresses are at the Southwest Museum in Los Angeles. The art of the silk tapestry likewise interested her, the best known of her work being Queen Calafía riding a griffin, which graced the wall of the Wagners' living-room in San Marino for many years and to which Mr. Wagner always pointed with pride. And that he pointed with pride also to the artist herself – her beauty, queenly bearing, and gay humor – may be seen by the dedication in *Bullion to Books:* "to Blanche in commemoration of our twenty-five years' journey together."

In later years Mrs. Wagner turned more and more to writing. She had always aided Mr. Wagner in translations from the French and she knew Spanish well. Readers of her books – a translation of Luis González Obregón's *Las Calles de Mexico* [*The Streets of Mexico*], published in 1937; *Tales of Mayaland,* written and illustrated by her (1938), and, again as translator, *The Voyage of the Heros Around the World with Duhaut-Cilly . . . 1826 . . . 1829 by Lt. Edmond Le Netrel* (1951) – will recognize her ability.

In June 1953, the *California Historical Society Quarterly* published Mrs. Wagner's translation of the appendix to the journal of Ernest de Massey, under the title, "Some Phases of French Society in San Francisco in the 'Fifties." All these literary and artistic activities, however, did not deter her from participation in numerous organizations devoted to civic matters, and to the encouragement of other writers and artists. But particularly as gracious hostess to visitors from all parts of the world – visitors eager to obtain her husband's professional advice or to pay their respects to his character and learning – will Mrs. Wagner be remembered with gratitude and affection.

RUTH FREY AXE

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

March 15, 1957, to June 15, 1957

From members of the Society and from its friends in many places have come generous gifts, including materials of historical interest and subscriptions toward the Building Fund:

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CORRECTION

Regarding the account of Santa Margarita Rancho, San Luis Obispo County, in the March 1957 QUARTERLY, Mr. W. D. Reis, president of the Santa Margarita Land and Cattle Co., San Francisco, has kindly informed us that "the original grant is still intact to all intents and purposes." The rancho has belonged to his family for sixty or more years and is presently leased by Mr. Claude Arnold.

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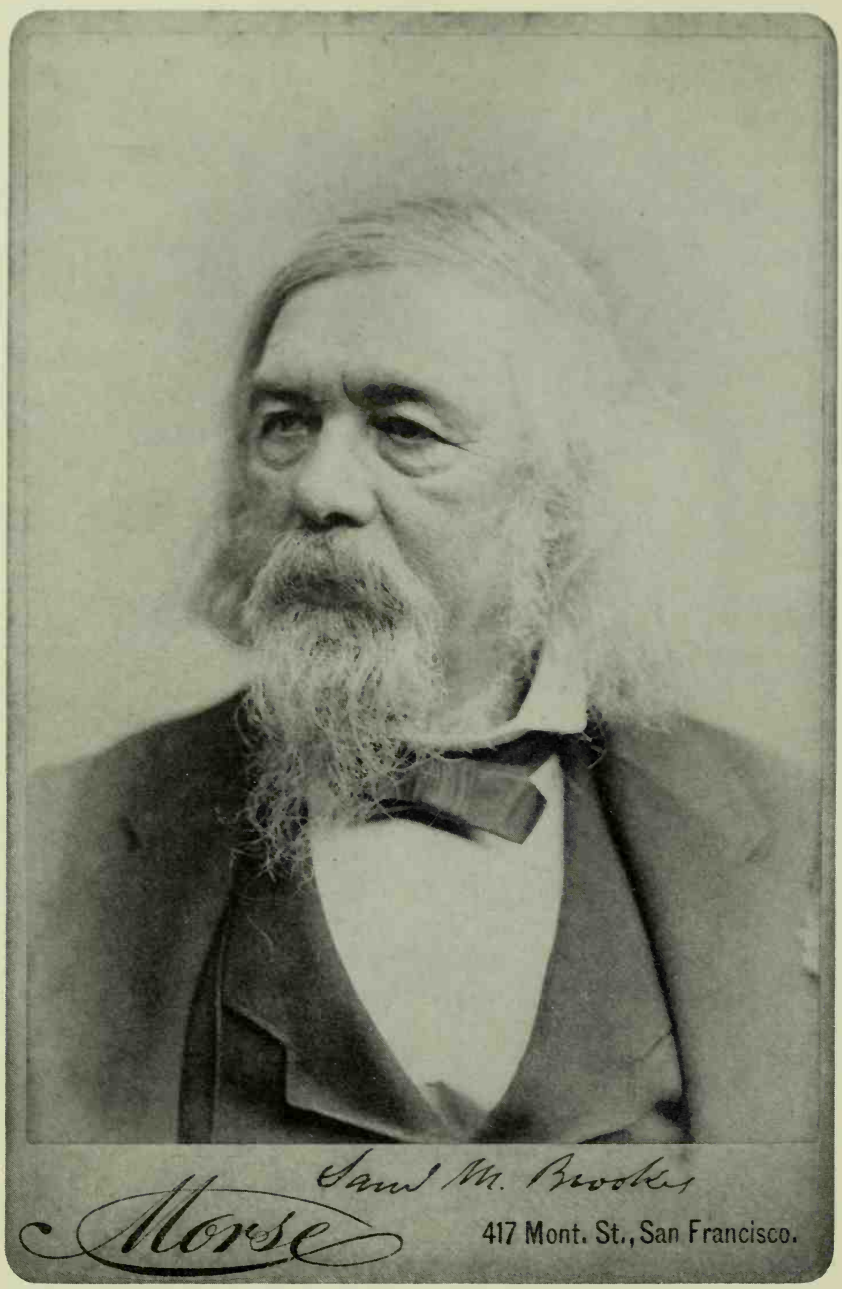
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California Historical Society picture file.

Samuel Marsden Brookes

By His Granddaughter, Lucy Agar Marshall

". . . meticulous painter of still lifes depicting salmon and peacocks," thus did the author of a monograph on William Keith characterize Keith's contemporary, Samuel Marsden Brookes.[1] Today, when art seems to be impressionistic and interpretive rather than photographic, "meticulous" might be considered as doubtful a compliment as "sensible" when applied to a pretty girl. But the descriptive phrase does sum up Brookes' work: as a painter of birds and animals he excelled; as a painter of fish he was unsurpassed in the far west.[2]

It was perhaps inevitable that this should be so. In the 17th century there lived in Holland a family of bakers called "Brük."[3] One young rebel refused to follow the family trade. He loved the woods and fields and delighted in the training of gyrfalcons. He trained them so expertly, in fact, that he became a favorite of the Prince of Orange, and when, in 1688, his royal patron crossed the channel to become William III of England, Brük accompanied him, was knighted, and married Lady Jane Marmon. He changed his name to Brook, since there is no exact English equivalent for the umlauted u. His grandson, Samuel Brook, added the Latin genitive *es* to suggest landed proprietors in place of bakers. This Samuel's son was Joshua Brookes, a naturalist; and a son by a second marriage was Samuel Brookes, father of the artist, expert in fruit-raising and the owner of a nursery in London. So Samuel Marsden Brookes, descendant of a bird trainer, nephew of a naturalist, and son of a nurseryman was destined, presumably, to become a painter of "salmon and peacocks."

Brookes was born in Newington Green, Middlesex, England, March 8, 1816. Educated in an English boarding school, he was classmate and friend of Edwin Henry Landseer,* who, he said, neither drew nor painted but could tear out of paper the form of any animal.[4] It is quite possible that Brookes' latent talent for drawing pictures was touched off by his boyhood friend. When he went to England in 1845, he visited

*The 4 lions at the base of Nelson's monument in Trafalgar Square, London, were modeled by Landseer.

Landseer; and his youngest son was named Edwin Landseer Brookes.

Brookes' father emigrated to America in 1833, bringing to Fort Dearborn his wife, their 9 children of whom Samuel Marsden was the oldest, 3 young men, a governess, and a servant. He chartered a packet boat and came with dogs, a donkey, a piano, a bell, books, trees, shrubs, etc. The journey through the woods in 2 wagons from Erie westward was filled with danger, sickness, and starvation. Arrived at Fort Dearborn, they had to live within the stockade, giving 17-year-old Samuel Marsden a chance to make pencil sketches of the fort which he developed some years later into 4 oil paintings, still in the possession of the family.[5] A log cabin, somewhat removed from a settlement known as Chicago, which had grown up near the fort and which was incorporated as a town† the year of the Brookes' arrival, was finally procured. The first night, wolves stole a calf and deposited it outside the cabin. Then they proceeded to fight over their prey. It was a terrifying reception for the newcomers, but nothing could break their spirit and they stayed on. The senior Brookes opened a nursery and stocked other peoples' gardens with the plants he had brought. In his journal for 1858, an itemized account of what he sold included a poinsettia.[6]

At some time between 1833 and 1840, according to Samuel Marsden Brookes' daughter, he learned to mix colors from 2 itinerant artists, and, in the face of his father's disapproval, chose, of all professions the one least suited to a pioneer community—that of artist.[7] His choice was brought about by the fact that the love of portraits which had glorified the latter part of the 18th century in England had spread to the frontier of America. Itinerant artists traveled about the country, usually in pairs painting portraits of the country folk.[7] Quite naturally the farmers' wives did not wish to be represented like Millet's peasants, so the ingenious artists would spend the winters painting upon numerous canvasses the busts of women draped in rich fabrics and adorned with jewels—but headless, liked the Winged Victory. Then, when fine weather came and these portrait painters were out on the road, they would show their canvasses to some farm wife; she would make her selection, and it would take no time for her head to be painted above a jeweled bodice. An oil portrait of a dreamy young artist wearing a scarlet fez and holding a palette is one of the 2 first records of Brookes' own work during this period. It is done on an oval cardboard, fitted to a wooden back

†Incorporation of Chicago as a city took place in 1837, when the population had increased to 4170.

on which is the signature "S. M. Brook" (so spelled for economy of space) and dated 1840. The other is the first miniature he ever painted.

In the meantime, his parents had bought a farm outside of Chicago which they named Abington after the English birthplace of the artist's mother; the name now includes the town that grew up around their farm. Samuel Marsden Brookes remained in Chicago, however, and boarded with the Rev. J. B. Mitchell on Clark Street. He set up a studio which the public was encouraged to visit and inspect his paintings and drawings, a lottery being devised to attract purchasers and thus pay for a year he hoped to spend in England studying the old masters.[8] The record of sales that he kept (up to 1882) begins September 13, 1841, where he lists miniatures and also the fact that he took some lessons: "Private lessons in painting from F. T. Wilkins and [T. H.] Stevenson, $30"—the only record of any lessons Brookes is known, by the present writer, to have received.

On January 14, 1842, he left Chicago and took a stage to Milwaukee, where his brother Joshua addressed a letter to him in April of the same year advising him to stay in Milwaukee, for he had made $154 in 3 months. The place had other attractions. That spring, Brookes' day-book records the purchase of 5 cotillion party-tickets, and a satin vest at $5. The last item is significant. Samuel's brother Henry had paid a visit to Milwaukee, and had brought home a piece of news and a miniature. His mother, in Abington, wrote her artist son: "Henry makes a favorable report and the countenance bespeaks a pleasant disposition. . . . I wish we knew the family. . . . She is very young, not eighteen—I have contemplated her every day since you sent the miniature. I feel as though I could love her."

On September 27, 1842, Samuel Marsden Brookes was married to Julia Beldon Jones of Hadley, Massachusetts, daughter of a New England silversmith who had moved to a farm at Racine, Wisconsin Territory. The following months the young couple moved about—to Southport, Madison, Mineral Point, Galena, and finally to Chicago, where his miniatures doubled in value, showing progress in his work and in the public's response. As described some 3 decades later in a newspaper editorial entitled, "Success at Last":

> Nearly 30 years ago as we passed along Lake Street in Chicago, then a seedy town of shanties, we noticed hanging in a case at the door some miniatures in water color, which impressed us at once with the remarkable skill of the artist. Climbing the stair, we found Brookes, then a young man, industriously at work at his easel, and thus began an acquaintance which ripened into a friendship which

has withstood the wear of years. It was our good fortune to have it in our power to aid in bringing young Brookes into notice, and the result was that in a short time he was enabled to go to Italy [England] and pursue his studies.[9]

October 10, 1845, found Brookes located at 1 Waterloo Place, Hammersmith, London. During her husband's absence, his wife had gone back to her parents' farm at Racine with her little son Albert and the baby Henry. But her father was ailing, so she took them to Samuel's parents who had returned to Chicago. There were indications that her artist husband might be away for 3 years. Her sisters wrote sympathetically, and a letter of hers, dated March 28, 1846, to him, voiced her unhappiness: "I want you to go to Italy and yet I do not; you will be away so much longer. If your collection is not so large, you may as well come back sooner. Why should we sacrifice more than a year?" Her appeal was successful, and Samuel never visited Rome, the Mecca of all artists.

In the fall of 1846, Brookes' brother Joshua congratulated him on his safe return:

I suppose that you have found a room to exhibit your productions and that they attract crowds... Chicago should by this time be able to afford you many patrons. [Apparently it did. In September 1846, Brookes resumed his journal with a rather startling entry, "Fire engine $25."] You were noticed in nearly all the papers throughout the West....* We have any quantities of daguerreotype artists, some creditable—but no portrait painter.

One of the current newspapers to which Joshua undoubtedly referred was the Weekly Chicago *Democrat*. In its issue of December 22, 1846, it reported that Brookes, "one of the very best painters of portraits, landscapes, etc., etc., in the country," had returned from England, and that he had "opened an office ... where a great variety of his paintings can be seen."[10] Six months later, he undertook another lottery. According to the Chicago Daily *Journal*, "Some of the paintings are beautifully executed, and evince good taste, a practiced hand, and a ready eye." The pictures exhibited were "Portraits of some familiar faces, copies from the old masters and fancy sketches."[11]

The next year, Samuel Marsden Brookes makes note of his first pictures that were not local portraits: "John the Evangelist," "Gipsy Girl," and a portrait of Benjamin Franklin—indicating that his visit to England, where he spent considerable time copying pictures in the National Gallery and in Hampton Court Palace, had enlarged his scope.

*"The West," of course, then signified the area west of the Allegheny Mts., not west of the Rockies.

A daughter, Elizabeth, was born to Brookes and his wife in Chicago. In April 1848 the family went to Galena; then in September, with the restlessness of the pioneer, they moved on to Milwaukee. Here at last their caravan rested, for they bought rental properties and a farm and remained for 14 years. Here also 4 of their children were born: Clara, Samuel, Lucy, and Edwin Landseer, besides Charles and the twins who died in infancy.

Describing Brookes as "Wisconsin's first resident painter to play an influential part in the early art life of the state," Porter Butts[12] prefaced his statements by quoting from the artist's announcement to the citizens of Milwaukee, "respectfully" inviting "any who may wish to examine his Painting & Drawing, to his room. Entire satisfaction given or nothing will be required." The frontier states (Wisconsin, Ohio, Indiana, Kentucky) by no means formed an "artless wilderness" at that time.[13] Artists' efforts were well-directed, as may be seen from the action of the Wisconsin legislature in granting papers of incorporation in 1851 to the "North Western Art Union."[14] In January of the previous year, under the caption "Milwaukee Art Union," Brookes had listed 15 paintings of such popular subjects as "John Kemble in Hamlet," "The Death of General Wolfe," etc., and his journal's list-of-sales shows work for the art union as late as 1856, one entry totaling $1200. Among his other activities during the early 1850's was the carving of a wooden Indian in 1853 for $55. (In April 1956, a sale of these tobacco-store landmarks averaged over $500 apiece.)

By October 1855, Brookes had formed a partnership with T. H. Stevenson (see above), with a joint studio, an arrangement which lasted for some 3 years. In 1856 he went to Green Bay and made sketches for the Fox-Wisconsin River Improvement Co.—town sites and locks—which he and Stevenson made into landscapes, said to be "helpful as a historic geographical record" rather than as possessing "special merit as painting," and which were eventually purchased (1909) by the Historical Society of Wisconsin. Dating also from this period are Brookes' and Stevenson's Indian battleground scenes, now in the Wisconsin Historical Museum.[15]

Brookes' 1858 journal records the painting of Indian portraits: "Oshkosh" (chief of the Menomuns) and "Two Groups of Indians," while a clipping mentions "Shabonee," "Sanganash," and "Chechepinoua." According to family tradition, the artist set up his easel in an Indian camp. The tribesmen had no idea of what he intended to do. As the

particular likeness grew, their amazement increased, and each day more Indians encircled him. It was a perilous situation, for the tribe was none too trustworthy, especially when they thought magic was concerned. But they understood at last and, delighted with the finished product, all clamored to have their portraits painted.

November 1858 marked a milestone in Samuel Brookes' career, for then his first still-life painting was recorded in his journal, "A Game Piece Containing Wine, Basket, Duck, Snipe &," and the next year another of "Pineapple, Banana," followed by several flower pieces and two small landscapes. With sales for the year 1861—almost all portraits and 1 or 2 woodcarvings—his first calfskin-covered day-book of sales was concluded. In April of the next year and without his family he departed for California where his sister-in-law and her husband, Mr. and Mrs. Cullen Finch, were already established.

A letter from French's Hotel, New York, reveals him and his brother Henry waiting to sail on the *Champion* for Aspinwall. While in New York, he spent most of his time visiting an exhibition with a local artist named Metcalf. It would seem that his interest had turned definitely toward still life, for he wrote: "I did not see much still life to make me ashamed of mine. In fact I should not have had any objection to have had those last pieces in." A month later he arrived in San Francisco and went to live with the Finches. "I intend to keep painting still life," he wrote, "and then get up an Art Union. . . . I have not the slightest idea of what my prospects are yet." But by October of 1862 he knew he was succeeding, and his family were planning to come to him in December. Their oldest son Albert was in the army; their second son Henry, a victim of what was called hip-disease, was caring for the farm.

Single-handed, Mrs. Brookes went through the ordeal of selling the home and the rentals in Milwaukee. Alone, she shepherded her children to California. It was months since she had heard from her husband, and when she arived in San Francisco she had only 25 cents in her purse. But Brookes was waiting on the dock to greet her, and after all her heroic efforts, like a true Victorian lady, she fainted in his arms.

The relationship between the artist and his wife was a tie of deep affection. She was a gentle, refined, lovable little person. But while she was devoted to her husband, she had not the faintest perception of his art. Nor had any of his family—his parents, brothers, nor his own children. Brookes' 3 sons became eminently successful in their lines (business, farming, and building), yet none of them, nor any of his five daughters, had any interest in art.

In 1863, a second, small, calfskin volume records sales amounting to $2392 from March 1863 to the end of the year. All was portrait work except for 1 landscape, a copy of the Shepherd's Prayer, 4 still-lifes, and a group-picture of Washington's cabinet.

Two years after he came to San Francisco, Brookes joined others in establishing an Artists' Union, similar to the one in Milwaukee. On the title-page of his manuscript, "San Francisco Artists' Union," is affixed the printed notice:

> To the public of San Francisco, and patrons of Art generally, the following plan for an ART DISTRIBUTION is respectfully submitted by the Artists of this City.
>
> 1st. It is proposed to establish this Society in the most economical manner, so that the subscriptions shall be used entirely in the purchase of works of Art.
>
> 2nd. That they shall be distributed to the subscribers under the superintendence of a committee appointed by the members.
>
> 3rd. The number of paintings shall be one to every ten subscribers, and the price of subscription five dollars.
>
> ... It is hoped the public will give their support to this enterprise.
>
> Sam'l M. Brookes, Manager,
> 611 Clay street

The names of 18 artists follow.[16]

The public did not ignore it, for the succeeding pages contained the signatures of 105 prominent persons, while listed in the *Catalogue, California Art Union*[17] are some 13 paintings by Brookes. All were labeled as being in the artist's possession, and all were for sale except "Ducks" and 2 portraits—"Gentleman," and "Lady." The others bore the titles: "Teal Duck and Quail," "Frog," "Fruit and Flowers," "Fruit and Still Life," "Fruit Piece," "Fish," "Study of Still Life," "Bracket of Fruit," "Owl," and "Blackbirds," confirming the axiom that portrait painting sets no arbitrary rules as to subject and is extendable in any direction, depending on the predilection of the painter. So it was that with Brookes in California as with his predecessor John J. Audubon (1785-1851) in other parts of North America, the exuberance of nature found itself matched by the exuberance of the artist.[18]

The Union seems to have been of short duration, but it is important as the forerunner of the San Francisco Art Association, organized formally, with J. B. Wandesford president and Samuel M. Brookes vice-president, on March 28, 1871.[19] From the first, a school was planned in connection with the art association, and on December 29, 1872, it emerged as the California School of Design, with Virgil Wil-

liams as the first director. The above activities prompted Benjamin Parke Avery to say that,

> New York was nearly two centuries old before she had an academy of fine art, and Boston very much older before she could claim to have established a school of design.* Yet San Francisco, which twenty-five years ago was a hamlet of three hundred inhabitants, can already boast that it has done more for art culture than either of the two older cities had done within the early memory of men whose heads are not yet gray.[20]

To John I. Walter, one of the contributors to a survey of American art called *Art in California* (published in San Francisco in 1916), the establishment of the San Francisco Art Association was "a striking testimony to the artistic energy of California." In the cumulative "artistic energy" of the state, Brookes was described by another writer as having,

> struggled and worked only as men who have a high devotion to one pursuit can. And after twenty-five years of labor, during which he supported himself and reared a large family exclusively on the proceeds of his brush, he has arrived at a position where his pictures claim that severest test of appreciation—a high price.[21]

During the early 1870's, Brookes joined the newly-formed Bohemian Club of San Francisco and served on the first board of directors, elected March 25, 1872; he served again as a director in 1873-74 and in 1877-78.[22]

Although the 1870's were the artist's most-prolific and best-paid years, the early 1880's marked his highest peak of achievement. His swan song, however, was not addressed to a swan but to a peacock. In 1880, at the age of 64 and after a year's intensive work, Brookes completed the painting called "Peacock," done by order of Mrs. Mark Hopkins of San Francisco, who showed her pleasure by raising the price agreed upon from $1000 to $2000.[23] It represented a peacock on a wall; the iridescent feathers of its tail were especially remarkable and prompted Mrs. Hopkins to direct that the picture be placed in her own parlor. After her death, her second husband, Edward F. Searles, conveyed the Hopkins property on California and Mason streets, which he had inherited from his wife, to the University of California, the deed (dated 1893) providing that the mansion was to be used by the San

*Town lots went on sale on Manhattan Island, nucleus of the future city of New York, in 1638; and John Winthrop's company selected Boston as the site of its settlement in 1630. But New York's National Academy of Design dates only from 1825-26 (incorporated in 1828), while both the Metropolitan Museum of Art and the Boston Museum of Fine Arts took chartered form as recently as 1870, or 1 year before the foundation of the San Francisco Art Association.

Francisco Art Association for an art school.[24] Brookes' peacock was then transferred to the gallery of the school. The painting was saved at the time of the 1906 earthquake and fire, and was purchased by H. B. Crouch, jeweler of Los Angeles, who subsequently sold it.

Another of Brookes' pictures exhibited at this time was "My Left Hand," a life-sized study that aroused public interest and favorable comment.

In 1880 and in 1881, the artist's work rapidly diminished in quantity, each year listing only 8 paintings. Here the second journal closes, and there is no further record of any work done. However, the Historical Society of Wisconsin in 1885 asked for his portrait to hang in their gallery: "You were the first painter of any skill to settle here and we ought to have your portrait. Sit down and paint it with a free hand . . . you will make a fine picture." It was perhaps in response to this request that Brookes made the two paintings, one of himself and the other of his wife, that are in the possesion of the family.

The old studio at 611 Clay Street was daily visited by him almost to the time of his death, which occurred, after a short illness, on January 31, 1892. His pallbearers were the artists William Keith and Norton Bush; J. Ross Martin of the San Francisco Art Association; and James Phelan and James M. McDonald of the Bohemian Club.

What can be said of Brookes' contribution to California art after a lapse of over 6 decades? In the first place, he has left a body of paintings distributed throughout the older homes of California. As a lover of animals—like the originator of the Brookes family—he expressed his feeling toward them in his work. For example, his painting of a certain beast in the zoo at Woodward's Gardens suggests William Blake's wonder as to ". . . What immortal hand or eye / / Could frame thy fearful symmetry?"[25] There is also the rotund gray squirrel cracking a nut; the dog, his eyes sparkling as he comes out of his kennel; and so on. But Brookes' fish paintings were the ones that made the headlines. At art exhibitions they were considered conspicuous for their excellence. According to an editorial in the *California Art Gallery* for May 1873, Brookes' studies of fruit also caused particular pleasure; grapes, for instance, are always "a pretty sight, but few men have so exquisitely transferred the bunch of grapes to canvas that all, whether connoisseurs in art or the most prosaic of people, halt before the picture to admire it and wonder at the skill of the artist."[26]

Again, Brookes was the friend of artists who came as strangers to the

city. A couch in his Clay Street studio provided many a fellow-craftsman with a bed when he could not afford a lodging. And here during the day the stranger was sure to make valuable acquaintances among the artists and art dealers of San Francisco. Brookes' gabled residence at 34 Prospect Avenue is still standing, and was sold in 1942 to the artist Bruce Stevens, who has made a commendable effort to preserve it as it was, originally.

As manager of the Art Union, officer of the San Francisco Art Association, a director of the Bohemian Club for 3 terms, and as active member, with his family, of the Woodbridge Presbyterian Church, Brookes served his adopted community well, carrying on in San Francisco, as he had done in Milwaukee, the cultural traditions of his parents, who brought the first bell and the first piano to the prairie city of Chicago.

NOTES

Personal correspondence, journals, notebooks, sales memoranda, etc., to which reference is made in the text or from which biographical details are drawn, are in the possession of the Brookes family.

1. Eugen Neuhaus, *William Keith, the Man and the Artist* (Berkeley, 1938), p. 81.

2. According to Benjamin Parke Avery (newspaper man, state printer, editor of the *Overland Monthly*, patron of the arts, envoy to China), writing in the *Aldine*, Apr. 1874, p. 73: "Samuel M. Brooks [*sic*] is masterly in such still-life subjects as fish and fruit. In the former specialty, in particular, [Albert] Bierstadt, when he was in San Francisco, said he has no equal in America. All his works are nature studies, with little effort at composition." *See also* Robert Ernest Cowan, *Forgotten Characters of Old San Francisco* (Los Angeles: Ward Ritchie Press, 1938); San Francisco *Examiner*, March 4, 1925, p. 11.

3. Anna Brookes (wife of the artist's nephew), compiler of Brookes' family tree; also Mary Barwick Wells, Toronto, Canada, grandniece of the artist.

4. Mary Shepherd Brookes, daughter of the artist, as told to her by her father.

5. Mary Barwick Welles, as in note 3 above.

6. Sales book of Samuel Brookes, the artist's father.

7. Vergil Barker, *American Painting* (New York, 1950), p. 526; Carl W. Dreppert, *American Pioneer Arts and Artists* (Springfield, Mass., 1942), pp. 105-106.

8. Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (New York & London: Alfred A. Knopf, 1937-40), I, 314-15.

9. *Daily Dispatch* (Seattle), Dec. 5, 1872.

10. Quoted by Pierce, as in note 8 above.

11. *Ibid.*

12. Porter Butts, *Art in Wisconsin* (Madison: Madison Art Assoc., 1936), p. 70.

13. *Ibid.*, preface by Oskar F. L. Hagen.

14. Butts, *op. cit.*, p. 103.

15. *Ibid.*, p. 74

16. Membership lists of the Art Union and of the San Francisco Art Assoc. are on file in the California Hist. Soc. library.*

17. *Catalogue* printed in San Francisco by Wade & Co., Steam Book & Job Printers, ca. 1866.

18. To J. Warring Wilkinson, in "Our Art Possibilities," *Overland Monthly*, II (March 1869), 253, "Almost everything in California is fresh and virgin for the purposes of Art." *Cf.* "The Original Paintings of John James Audubon," *Metropolitan Mus. of Art Miniatures*, Album XO, text by Robert Cushman Murphy (New York, 1957), Introduction. Audubon's travels in North America, sketching and painting birds, is there said to have resulted in 435 plates showing 1055 separate figures.

19. William Carey Jones, *Illustrated History of the University of California* (San Francisco, 1895), p. 218.

20. Avery, *op. cit.*, p. 72.

21. *Calif. Art Gallery*, San Francisco, May 1873, I, No. 5, p. 68.

22. *The Annals of the Bohemian Club . . . from its beginning in the year eighteen hundred and seventy two . . .*, ed. by Robert H. Fletcher (San Francisco, 1898), Appendix.

23. Brookes family records.

24. Jones, as in note 19 above, pp. 222-23.

25. William Blake (1757-1827), "The Tiger."

26. Note 21 above.

*Miss Thekla Wurlitzer, a volunteer assistant in the Society's library, is compiling a census of California artists before 1907. [Ed.]

A Boy's Voyage to San Francisco, 1865-66

Selections from the Diary of William Bowers Bourn Ingalls

Transcribed, with Notes,

By F. Bourn Hayne

Trans-Isthmian traveler, William Bowers Bourn Ingalls, son of Zebediah and Hannah Bourn Ingalls, was born in Brooklyn, N. Y., on October 11, 1853. He was thus actually but a boy, when, in the fall of 1865, he accompanied his mother to San Francisco to visit Mrs. Ingalls' brother, William Bowers Bourn I, and his wife, Sarah Chase Bourn, then living at the corner of Third and Brannan streets.

The freshness of the lad's power of observation, and the deductions which that gift prompted him to make, transform what might be considered an old story—how many persons, to the reader's own knowledge, have written their impressions of San Francisco?—into a novel and highly entertaining experience.

The editors of the Quarterly are indebted to Mr. Hayne for his generous permission to publish these selections from young Ingalls' diary, especially as the diarist returned to San Francisco 38 years afterwards, to occupy a position of responsibility as secretary of the Spring Valley Water Co., of which his cousin, William Bowers Bourn II, was president.

Mr. Ingalls died in San Francisco, February 27, 1922, and is buried in the Hayne-Bourn plot in the St. Helena cemetery. The original diary is in the possession of F. Bourn Hayne, architect, of Kentfield, California, grandson of William B. Bourn I.

Spelling has been left almost entirely as in the original; punctuation has been added only to facilitate reading. Capitalization, when obviously unintentional within sentences, has been omitted.

THE DIARY

Steamship New York

Oct. 2nd, 1865: We left our good old home 78 State St. [Brooklyn, N. Y.] at nine oclock A.M. for the steamer bound for California. Upon arriving at the steamer, all was noise and confusion; we went directly to our state room and unpacked our carpet bag and got ready for the night. We went out in the cabin to see our friends who kindly came to bid us goodbye. After we got off mother and I went upon deck and staid up

till we passed Sandyhook. At Ft. Lafayette they fired three or four guns and I could see the light from the guns.

Oct. 3: I was sick all day and did not go to the table.

Oct. 7: When I got up this morning I was greatly surpised to see land; it proved to be one of the Bahama Islands. As we passed by a boat came out to our ship to get the mail. I saw on the Island some houses and great piles of salt and it glistened in the sun light like diamonds. We passed Cuba. It is green and mountainous. I saw a ship near there. The weather is very hot and I am glad to get on my thin clothes.

Oct. 10: We arrived at Aspinwall [former name for Colón] at six in the morning. I got ashore as quick as I could and went up in the main St. with the rest of the passengers. I saw some cocoanut trees and the nuts growing. I went to mother for some money and I went back to get some bananas and took them back to mother. . . . Mother and I then went to the Consuls office and left our things; then we went out and mother bought a large basket filled it with bananas of red and yellow and she bought two oranges, then we went back to the Consul office and staid there until the cars went and then we got in the cars to cross the Isthmus. It was quite a change to get in the cars after being so long on the ship. I saw some oranges and bananas growing and I saw a parrot flying about. We stopped at Cruces that is half way across the Isthmus. The natives brought their fruits to sell. They had some native bread for sale and oranges, limes, native candy and eggs. The native candy is cocoanut candy and maple sugar. I forgot to mention we followed Chagres river as far as Cruces. The bridge over the river is made of iron. From Cruces to Panama it is very much prettier than from Aspinwall to Cruces. We arrived at Panama about five in the afternoon. We went right to the transport boat as the passengers are not allowed to stop there. It was very warm and so crowded that we had no place to put our things. I was very glad to get to the steamer. Panama is an ancient looking place; there are two or three ruins in it and it looked very pretty as we left the harbor. We had to go about three miles to the Steamer Colorado. It is a very large steamship, I should think that it would reach from our house to Clinton St. It is about twice as long as the New York, but I do not think they have as good a table as on board the New York. At the childrens' table it is miserable but fortunately mother got me at the first table.

Tuesday Oct. 24: We arrived Tuesday morning at San Francisco about

quarter past eleven. As we went in the harbor we fired a gun off Megges wharf—it made us jump like everything. At the entrance there is a rock with a hole through it and if you get in such a position it will look just like a key hole and they say that it is the lock to the Golden Gate. And at the entrance there is a very strong fort—they say it is the strongest fort in the world. San Francisco is a very diffiernt city than what I thought, it is very hilly, I thought it was rather level. Before we got in there was a great crowd, we could see carriages waiting for the passengers. Before we were barely in there were hacks on board to see if they could get somebody to get their carriages. There was great confusion. Mother staid by her stateroom so as to watch it. I went out on deck to see if I could see Uncle William.[1] But I went in to sit down with mother and I saw somebody look like him and sure enough that was him. We waited till the crowd got off the steamer and then we went to the carriage and rode up to the house. As soon as we got there Mary[2] came rushing out the door to meet us.

Wednesday Oct. 25: This morning Aunt Sarah,[3] Mother and I are going out to see the city. Aunt Sarah has some shopping to do and we are going with her. She took us up on one of the princible streets and she showed us some of the finest houses I ever saw. I think they go ahead of Mr. Hunt's[4] houses and she showed us the house[5] that Uncle William thought of buying; it is upon a hill so that you have a full view of the city. The house he lives in now, they say, it is in the swampy neighborhood. We went over to see Mrs. Chase[6] she is a great deal better than what she was two or three days ago for they thought that she was dying.[7] Then we went home to dinner and after dinner Willie[8] and I went to the grocers to get some fruit. We waited until it was ready and rode home with it and Aunt Sarah gave me a apple and I took one to mother and she never tasted such apples in all her life. And we had some splendid grapes and such pears they are just like the Bartlet pear, they are splendid.

Thursday, Oct. 26: It is a very pleasant morning and the children[9] are going to school. Mother thinks of sending me to their school. But this morning she told me she was going to have me take music lessons and teach me herself the other lessons. Today mother and Aunt Sarah are going to a lunch party and I was left home all alone and when the children came home from school we had dinner. . . .

While mother and Aunt Sarah were at the party I sat down to write in my Journal. Commodore Watkins[10] lives right around the corner

from our house; he is a great fat man it makes me laugh to see him go up stairs. I am sure that it would make Abbott [his brother in Brooklyn] laugh to see him.

Friday, Oct. 27: Aunt Sarah has some errands to do and I am going with her. She bought some pears, they are very large, they are about as large as the Bartlet pears. They call this kind that Aunt Sarah bought the Bumada [Beurre Bose?] pears. We went to look for Mr. Sanders. He is a gentleman that Mr. Lyon told us to find. He gave us a package for him. He is Mrs. Lyons brother. We could not find him but where we called, they told us where we could find him, so I guess Monday we shall try to find him. In the evening we had some fruit. And this morning Franky[11] came in our room and we had some fun in bed and when mother wanted me to get up . . . I dressed myself as quick as I could and went downstairs to have some fun with Willie Bourn. The Rev. Mr. Wolsworth[12] was here to dinner today and he is going in the next steamer and Aunt Sarah is going to make an apron for Sallie [the diarist's sister] and send it by him.

Sunday, Oct. 29: It is a very pleasant day; I am going to Church this morning. Mother gave me a note to give to the clergyman; it was a note for him to read the prayer for a safe return from sea.

Thursday, Oct. 31: I began taking music lessons today from Professor Scott;[13] they say he is the finest teacher there is in the city. I like him very much—he talks just like a German. I went to market with Aunt Sarah and mother, they have splendid markets here. We had letters from home today. I was so glad to get them. It is so funy to see all the houses painted brown. And all of them built so low, the reason they are painted brown is because the dirt blows so.

Wednesday, Nov. 1: It is a very pleasant day, Aunt Sarah, mother and I are going to make calls. We are going over to see Mrs. Holland,[14] she lives the other side of the city from Aunt Sarah. We called on Mrs. Tibbey;[15] they were just sitting down to lunch when we got there and they asked us to lunch—we sat down and we had a very nice lunch.

Saturday, Nov. 4: It is a very pleasant day this morning. We are going down to the Cliff House; in front of the house there are two or three rocks. On one of them there is a flag and a tight rope is extended from the land to this rock. And one day there was a man that walked over on this rope and I suppose he put the flag on the rock. There are some sea lions around on the rocks but there is one where they always stay. The

rock is covered with them; we saw the largest one of them all. I should think that he was as big as a house; the big ones are a kind of a brown, the young ones are black. Before the man with the tight rope, they staid on the rock, to which the tight rope was fixed, but they think they will come back to the rock. Then we went down on the beach and staid there until we went home and we had our dinner on the beach—we went home by the Prisidio, that is where the soldiers stay. As we rode over the green grass we could see the greatest lot of quail; as we rode by they would fly away. From the Presidio we can see Telegraph hill—the reason it is called that name is because from there they telegraph down to the city when the steamers are coming in.

Saturday, Nov. 11: This morning we are going to the Willows and to the Mission Dolores; the Willows is something like the Central Park; out to the Willows there are swings and you can take a horse-back ride on wooden horses round a circle. And they have weeping willows and that is the reason why they name it the Willows and under these trees there are tables and seats and if anybody wanted to order ice cream they could sit out there and enjoy it. They have a Museum out there and they have the learned Pig and if you ask him any questions he will answer you just as if he was a man and have all other uncomon things.

After we got through seeing all there was to be seen we went over to the Mission Dolores—it is an old Spanish church and by the side of the church are old Spanish houses and I went into all the Spanish houses and into the church; the top of the houses look so funy. With there old fashion roofs whenever it rains it does not stay on the roof but it rolls off of the house. The same day there was a foot race close by there and I was interested in watching that, there were crowds of people on the streets to watch the race. It was quite exciting when they were on their last half mile.

Saturday, Dec. 2: We have been to the theatre this afternoon—it was at the Opera House, the play was the Old Corporal[16]—I think it was the same play that I saw at the Boston Meuseum. But they did not play it as well as at Boston, but they play it splendid where he comes walking over the bridge.

The old corporal was D. E. Bandman. I think he was the best actor in the whole play but the scenery was grand.

National and State Thanksgiving, Dec. 7: Aunt Sarah gave a family dinner party and besides her own family, Mr. [C. M.] Nichols and Miss

Heart were here. There were plaits for eighteen and there were two tables; one for the big folks and one for the children. Mary and I prisided at the head of the childrens table. We had a splendid dinner—we had two turkeys and for desert we had some fruits and Almonds and Wallnuts and Plum pudding and ice cream.

Christmas Day, 1865: It is very pleasant this morning. All of us got up early this morning to see our presents; we had a Christmas tree and Mary and I dressed it all alone. I went to Grace Cathedral, it is a fine church—they have splendid music and this morning they sang "Hear Ye Israel"; it sounded familiar and I had to think some time before I could think who sang it at home. Dick Coker sang it—it was sung very nicely. When church was out I came home to get ready to go to Mrs. Tibbey's to take dinner; the whole of Mrs. Tibbey's family and of Mr. Tibbey's family were there. We had a very nice time indeed. In the evening she had a party; there were about fifty present. I enjoyed it very much in dancing and watching the others dance. Uncle William being absent for about a week came in very unexpectedly about twelve o'clock—he was introduced to all the ladies and kissed about all of them.

Monday, Jan. 7, 1866: It is a very pleasant day and I intend to make a few calls on the steamer people, and in the afternoon I am going out with Uncle William to make a few calls on people that have called on mother.

Monday, Jan. 15: I began going to school today and I like it very much. I got acquainted with some very pleasant boys and I am enjoying myself very much. On the play ground there is a gymnasium and I like to see the boys perform on it.

Feb. 17: This is mother's Wedding Aniversary. I was invitted out to the [E. B.] Benjamins to take a horse back ride on a little pony which belongs to Marcus. I rode in town down to our house to let mother see, she thought that I kept on pretty well. I enjoyed myself very much and I have been invited out there to ride the pony whenever I had time.

Washington Birthday, Feb. 22: We went down to Santa Clara to spend a few days in going about the country. In the afternoon we went to the Saratoga Springs—it is about eight miles from Santa Clara and the water was splendid, and I drank a good deal of it as mother said it would do me good. The springs were in the middle of the woods and it looked as if it was an artificial one as there were stones fixed nicely around it.

The house we staid at was the Cameron House and I like it very much as there was a billiard room and I like to go down to see the men play.

(To be concluded)

NOTES

1. "Uncle William" was William Bowers Bourn I, who came to San Francisco in 1850.

2. Mary (later known as "Maye"), the eldest child of Mr. and Mrs. W. B. Bourn, was born in San Francisco, Feb. 11, 1855. In 1895, she married James Ellis Tucker, formerly of Virginia. Her death occurred in San Francisco Nov. 2, 1947, at the age of 92.

3. "Aunt Sarah" was Mrs. W. B. Bourn.

4. Richard Morris Hunt (1828-95), American architect, co-founder and one-time president of the Am. Inst. of Architects, was Beaux-Arts trained and designed many of the palatial homes in New York and Newport, R. I. In Cambridge, Mass., the old Fogg Art Museum stands as an example of his preference for dignity of line and for the use of ornament based on historic models.

5. Shortly after this, W. B. Bourn bought the property at 1105 Taylor St. on Nob Hill, just north of the present Grace Cathedral.

6. Capt. George Chase, who arrived in San Francisco via the Horn in 1849, was joined shortly thereafter by his wife and several daughters. One of them, Sarah, had been married to W. B. Bourn (shipping partner of her father) in the Church of the Holy Trinity, Brooklyn, N. Y., on July 25, 1849, while Capt. Chase was on the high seas. In 1854, Sarah Chase Bourn followed her husband to San Francisco via the Isthmus, arriving on May 4th.

7. Mrs. Chase died on Aug. 22, 1867, aboard the *S. S. Constitution* en route to New York. She was then 60 years old.

8. "Willie" was William Bowers Bourn II, (*b.* May 31, 1857; *d.* July 5, 1936). He attended the College of St. Augustine, Benicia, Calif.; and Downing College, Cambridge, England. Following his father's death in 1874, he developed the family's Empire Mine at Grass Valley, a rich producer. He became president of the San Francisco Gas Co.—forerunner of the Pacific Gas & Electric Co.—and was also president of the Spring Valley Water Co. The large Greystone Winery near St. Helena was his creation. He made his home at "Filoli" in San Mateo County.

9. The children in the Bourn household at this time were Mary ("Maye"), age 11; William ("Willie"), age 9; Sarah ("Zaidee"), age 7; Frank ("Frankie"), age 4; and Ida, age 2. The youngest child, Maud (Mrs. William Alston Hayne) was not born till Nov. 15, 1867.

10. This was James T. Watkins, captain of the Pacific Mail SS. Co.'s *Colorado*, whose residence was at 58 South Park (San Francisco *Directory*, 1865.)

11. Later, when the family were living in their new home at 1105 Taylor St., Frankie (see note 9 above) fell off a high retaining-wall and sustained injuries which lead to his death on Jan. 24, 1872, at the age of 11 years.

12. A letter written by the diarist's mother on the same date spells it "Wallsworth"; neither are listed in contemporary directories.

13. Gustavus A. Scott, music teacher, resided at 55 South Park. He gave 3 lessons a week per month for $16; 2 a week per month for $12; and a single lesson a week per month cost $6.

14. Mrs. Holland was the wife of Nathaniel Holland, attorney-at-law, who was then a vestryman at Grace Church. He had his office at No. 12 Wells Bldg., 605 Clay St., and resided at 1414 Taylor St. (*S. F. Directory*, 1865-66.)

15. Mrs. Edney Stagg (Emily Chase) Tibbey was Mrs. Bourn's sister. Her husband was note clerk at the Bank of California, organized the year before by William C. Ralston. The Tibbey residence was at 923 Howard St.

16. Daniel E. Bandman arrived in San Francisco the same year as the diarist, and was referred to in the S. F. newspapers of the day as the "eminent Anglo-German tragedian." He first appeared at Maguire's Opera House in "Narcisse." In addition, he participated in benefits; *i.e.*, in Grace Church's Festival, held at Platts Hall on October 6th of that year. (*San Francisco Theatre Research—First Series*, U. S. Works Progress Admin. Northern Calif. District, 1939), vol. 9, p. 117e. No mention is made of "The Old Corporal" at this date; but according to p. 135 of the same volume, a 5-act play, known under its German title *Ihr Korporal*, was given in San Francisco in January 1879. (Information kindly communicated by Mrs. Frances Buxton, California Room, Oakland Public Library.)

The Visual Knowledge of California to 1700

By Arda M. Haenszel

FOREWORD. – The Hebrew prophet, Isaiah, ministering to his people between 740 and 701 B.C., quoted the Deity as saying, ". . . behold I create new heavens and a new earth. . . ."[1] As exploration proceeded during the centuries after Isaiah, such will be seen to have been the case – "new" heavens, with unimagined stars and groups of stars, being revealed to men's eyes; also a "new" earth whose form, and the numerous shapes of whose component parts, upset one theory after another; and the list of whose products required constant revision upward. For example, even during King Solomon's reign in the 10th century B.C., tributory ships were bringing him "gold, and silver, ivory, and apes, and peacocks." Mere silver, alone, "was nothing accounted of" in those days.[2] How the list grew will appear below.

By about 470 B.C., Hanno, the Carthaginian, had left the familiar breezes of the Mediterranean Sea and was coasting along the western edge of Africa.[3] He wrote it up in a manuscript, the title of which, rendered into Greek as *Periplus*, means "a sailing round" – thereby bringing up the question of the antiquity of sails. We know, from one of the illustrations in the "Papyrus de Kamara" (1587-1202 B.C.), that the boat of Queen Ka-Ma-Ra was propelled along the Nile by a large billowy sail; in fact, so enjoyable did her yachting excursions seem to the queen that she had her throne set up on board.[4] Other representations of boats, equipped with oars and sails and also with cabins, on prehistoric pots, show how long has transportation by water been practiced.[5]

Venturing westward beyond the mouth of the Nile from their cities in Asia Minor – Tyre (2756 B.C. [?]) and Sidon (1198 B.C. [?]) – Phoenician mariners had founded Carthage about 822 B.C. on the southern shore of the Mediterranean, and, some 200 years later, rival Greeks from Phocaea selected a site on the opposite coast for Massalia (modern Marseilles).[6] Thence, exploration continued through the Strait of Gibraltar northward to Britain and Germany and southward down the west coast of Africa. Meanwhile, on the Italian coasts, Venice (452 B.C.), Naples, and Genoa (both probably 4th century B.C.), as well as Alexandria (332 B.C.) at the mouth of the Nile, began their careers as ports, as did Barcelona (Barcino, in the 3rd century B.C.) and Cartagena or New Carthage (*c.* 243 B.C.) on the east-facing coast of Spain. In these centers, bathed by the waters of an inland sea, was nourished the seamanship that led in the long, long course of time across the great open basins of the Atlantic and Pacific and along the intervening continents and islands (not forgetting the nutmegs and mace of the Moluccas) to California.

But that the inland sea in itself was too comfortable a cradle in which to raise oceanic seamen, was pointed out in 56 B.C. by Julius Caesar while preparing for his first attack on Britain: "... the Romans had no navy, no knowledge of shoals, harbors, or islands in the theatre of war [*vs. the Veniti*]; and though the navigation of a land-locked sea might be easy enough, it was a very different matter to handle a ship in the vast open waters of the Atlantic."[7] For his second invasion of Britain, he ordered that the ships (about 600 of them) were to be wider in the beam than those used in other waters; and were to have low freeboards to facilitate the use of sails as well as oars. "Materials for their equipment," he noted in his *Commentaries*, "were ordered from Spain."[8]

When the Norsemen and the Vikings made their raids on Iceland and on the British Isles from A.D. 787 to 911, it was a different story. Here were trader-fishermen trained for centuries in the winds and currents not only of their own coasts but northwestward toward Greenland, and possessing ships some 76 feet from stem to stern, with high masts and yards and sails to match, and with 16 oars on a side.[9]

Knowledge of these widely differing types of marine technique – Roman empire-builders', Norse sea-rovers', Danes' and English – filtered in along the docks and into the council chambers of European royalty, and eventually prompted a prince of a former Roman province known as Lusitania (present-day Portugal) to go deep into the unsolved problems of navigation.[10] But between the raiders and the prince occurred the period of the "Crusades," from the 11th to the 14th century.[11]

When one is tempted to speak in extravagant terms of the "tremendous" marine activity during the 16th and 17th centuries A.D., a backward glance at the waters around Europe during the earlier, 11th to the 14th, period, especially in the Mediterranean, will reveal how high and low, landsman and seaman, soldier and statesman, all took up the idea of the Crusades – to rescue the tomb of Christ from the hands of "the Infidel." The Italian cities, mentioned above, were, from their position midway to the Holy Land, stimulated to an extent which might actually be called "tremendous" – what with the crowds that poured past and into their harbors en route to Asia Minor, including Richard I, the "Coeur de Lion" of England.[12] Guidebooks were prepared for the use of the pilgrims, while, at the same time, eyebrows along with fists were raised by representatives of opposing religions, and merchants of all nations jostled one another in trying to act as middlemen and as bankers for the goods that arrived on their wharves, transshipped from Asian caravan routes and from European trading-centers. Here could be had new plants and new fashions in dress; metal work, and jewelry, and glass; also sugar, maize, melons, cottons, and the shells of the genus *Murex* from which could be obtained royal purple. Chief of all, from the point of navigation, was probably the lemon – that enemy of scurvy – which became one of the main fruit-crops of Mediterranean countries.[13]

In his book on the *Significance of the Frontier*, Frederick J. Turner describes what the Mediterranean Sea had meant to the Greeks, "breaking the bond of custom, offering new experiences, calling out new institutions and activities."[14] With the passing of the centuries and the formation of independent nations, even

the Mediterranean itself became increasingly congested until its quality as a liberating frontier disappeared altogether. Then it was that, beyond, through the Pillars of Hercules, men found the "new" heavens and the "new" earth of which Isaiah had prophesied.[15]

The widening horizons in every field of knowledge that came with the 16th and 17th centuries stimulated an interest particularly in things strange and remote—things that were to be experienced personally if possible, otherwise through the literature which illuminated the age. Christopher Marlowe's *Tamburlaine*, written in 1586, shortly after Drake's voyage around the world, contains this passage, for instance:

> ... Until the Persian fleet and men-of-war,
> Sailing along the oriental see,
> Have fetched about the Indian Continent,
> Even from Persepolis to Mexico,
> And thence unto the Straits of Jubalter....

in which the Persian monarch would reverse Drake's direction, but imitate his feat. Again Tamburlaine exclaims, "Give me a map; then let me see how much || Is left for me to conquer all the world."

In quite another vein, Spenser in the *Faerie Queene* (1590) expresses the idea then current that now at last truth is stranger and more wonderful than imagination and romance. He says that some scoff at his fairy world as merely the forgery of an idle brain,

> But let that men with better sense advize,
> That of the world least part to us is red;
> And daily how through hardy enterprise
> Many great regions are discovered,
> Which to late age were never mentioned.
> Who ever heard of th' Indian Peru?
> Or who in venturous vessel measured
> The Amazon, huge river, now found trew?
> Or fruitfullest Virginia who did ever vew?

In his *Some Imaginary California Geography*, Henry R. Wagner says that before 1540, the delineations of this part of the world "were fancy, pure and simple." Areas supposed to represent California were full of fabulous names. What mattered if the map-makers moved them about like chessmen through the 16th and 17th centuries, and even in the 18th, with very little regard for the important discoveries that were being made? Make the maps interesting, seems to have been their plan. Names from the Scriptures, from the Arabs, and Marco Polo were scattered all over northeast Asia; Schöner in 1523 even moved some of these names

over into North America in the space just north of Mexico.[16] After all, hardly anybody then, even scholars, knew the difference. There was Quivira, the city of gold about which the Indians had told Cabeza de Vaca. On early maps, it was to be found anywhere from Kansas to the California coast. Indians also told Friar Marcos de Niza about Laguna de Oro, somewhere in the lower Colorado River region. Drake almost surely carried Ortelius' Atlas of 1570, in which were maps showing Cicuic and Tiguex, as well as Quivira, on the Pacific coast from 42° south.[17] Resounding on the tongue were Totoneac, and the cluster of three rivers near the head of the gulf, Rio de Anguchi, Rio de Tizon, and Rio de Corall. Sometimes there was the Rio de Azul in the same area, or the Axe River, believed to rise far in the north, where the modern map shows the present Sierra Nevada. As for ranges called Sierra Nevada, they traveled about, too. Though explorers later mentioned seeing mountains in California with snow on them, map-makers had preceded them with imaginary ranges. Gastaldi's map of 1566 shows Sierra Nevada running east from Alaska. Sierra Nevada was also Cabrillo's name for the Santa Cruz Mountains. In the early maps, the orient was often either continuous in the north with the Pacific coast, or very close to it, and the Island of Japan sometimes looked like another Santa Barbara Channel Island.

But the most fabulous of all was the Strait of Anian, that remarkable northwest passage. Everyone *knew* there must be such a strait. Cartographers were so sure of it they even gave it a name – possibly derived from Ania, a Chinese province mentioned in Ramusio's text of Marco Polo's book – and showed it on their maps. For several hundred years, every maritime country in Europe was eager to find and control it, for control of this strait would mean control of the untold wealth of oriental commerce. It was shown on practically all the maps of the northern area in some form or other, vaguely between 47° and 60°. Sometimes it ran east and west, sometimes north and south to meet other bodies of water which would be considered part of the whole passage.

There were even accounts of fictitious voyages through the strait, which bolstered belief in it and influenced the maps of the period.

For instance, a Greek pilot, Juan de Fuca, was said to have been sent out in 1592 by the viceroy of Mexico to discover the Strait of Anian, to have sailed through such a strait beyond 47°, and then to have returned to Acapulco with his story. This story, published by Lok in 1609, relates that,

he followed his course in that voyage west and northwest in the South Sea, all alongst the coast of Nova Spania and California . . . until he came to the latitude of 47°, and there, finding that the land trended north and northeast with a broad inlet of sea . . . he entered thereinto, sailing therein more than 20 days. . . . He passed by divers islands in that sailing. . . . At the entrance of this said strait, there is, on the northwest coast thereof, a great headland or island with an exceeding high pinnacle. . . . Being entered thus far into the said strait, and being come into the North Sea already – he thought he had well discharged his office.[18]

Maldonado in 1588 told how he entered the strait near Labrador, came out into the polar sea, passed through another strait at 60°, and sailed into the Pacific.[19]

Fonte, considered by Wagner to be himself probably a fictitious character, in 1640 was said to have entered a river on the Pacific side at 53° and met a Boston ship from Massachusetts, thus proving that there was a route through the continent. Nobody seems to have found any record of what the Bostonians might have thought about meeting Fonte.

Drake very likely carried Sir Humphrey Gilbert's pamphlet of 1576, which tells of Urdaneta's returning from the Philippines to Germany via the northwest passage, the tale illustrated by a map with a strait between Asia and America, open sea north of America, and a strait between Greenland and Labrador. This, of course, we know now to be pretty near the truth, for men sailed a similar route only a few years ago from east to west. But it took modern ships and modern science to do it. Drake was partly looking for the mythical strait when he sailed north along the California coast. Belief in the Strait of Anian was, after all, reasonable, after the discovery of the Strait of Magellan in the south, and the coast seemed to trend northeast at the farthest point north reached by most of these explorers. In the later 17th century particularly, the Strait of Anian was usually shown as the northern boundary of the Island of California. In fact, the older 16th and early 17th century maps are more near the truth with regard to California, for it was at first thought to be a peninsula.

Apparently two maps to come out of the new world as the result of personal exploration had an effect of world-wide importance among cartographers for many years. One was Father Ascensión's map of the Vizcaino expedition of 1602-1603, showing California as an island bounded on the east by the Mediterranean Sea of California, and on the north by the Strait of Anian. Map-makers for over a century followed his example in this respect, even Kino in 1696. But Father Kino went to see for himself. In his map of 1701, showing California as a peninsula

and the Gulf of California terminating in the mouth of the Colorado River, he settled the matter, and the others gradually fell into line.

Wagner thinks the sanest map of the northwest coast produced in the 17th century was that of Jean de Laet, published in 1630. At the time, however, he was not considered up-to-date, because he used Cabrillo's names on his map which came out after Vizcaino's new names had been published.

San Francisco Bay, of course, was not shown on any maps of the California coast until Costanso's map was published in 1771, although most of the other coastal features were well known and fairly well shown much earlier.[20] To this young and extremely talented engineer with the Portolá party fell the honor of adding the last and greatest harbor of all, and quite accurately he drew it. As with Kino, the Spanish here had an expert right on the spot.

But to those who first looked on Alta California, what was it like? True, the world of the 16th and 17th centuries was full of romantic rumors, some fictitious accounts, and a few charts with this area largely filled in by flights of the cartographers' imaginations. But at last there were men who could say, "I was there!" How perceptive—and how truthful—were they?

ALARCON

First to set eyes upon what is now the state of California was the party of Alarcón in 1540. Ulloa, the year before, had reached the mouth of the Colorado River, but turned south to explore the east coast of Baja California. Ulloa had been Cortez's man; Alarcón, sponsored by his rival, Viceroy Mendoza, must do better than that. So Alarcón's ships had crossed the mud flats, weathered the bore, and were now anchored a short way upstream. To begin with, he named the river Buena Guia after a part of Mendoza's coat of arms. Mendoza had sent Coronado north with Friar Marcos to seek the Seven Cities. Alarcón was to take him supplies at a rendezvous along the Colorado, and explore the region with an eye toward possible settlement and missionary activities.

From the anchored ships, Alarcón set forth up river, speaking in sign language with natives on shore who, having heard of the cruelty of Coronado's men, were suspicious of these similar white men with clothes and beards. But, posturing in his splendid uniform, and treating them kindly and giving them gifts, he won the friendship and even the homage of many of the Indians along the river by telling them that he was not like the other Spaniards, but was the son of the sun they wor-

shipped. Then piously, and expediently, he transferred their worship from himself to the Christian God by making crosses out of sticks and paper and telling the Indians to fold their hands and kneel before them each day. The demand was so great they ran out of sticks and paper. Nevertheless, he was reprimanded for his vanity when he returned to Mexico City.

His party landed from time to time on the shores of the river as they proceeded—we know as far as the Yuma Junction with the Gila, and perhaps even as far as the present Hoover Dam area.[21] In his report little is said of the country on either side of the river. Their preoccupation was with navigation of a river unknown to them, with a shifty current and sandbars, and particularly with their not always friendly relations with a population also unknown and apt to be shifty.[22] Where his Yuman-speaking interpreter could be understood, he questioned the chiefs incessantly, particularly about the other Spaniards in the interior, and about Quivira—he even had them draw descriptive pictures, until they complained that he pestered them too much. But one "old man" turned the tables on him and questioned Alarcón extensively about Mexico and Spain.

Along the route, they could not have helped seeing the wide river bottom and flood plain near the present Yuma (Alarcón mentioned some Indians coming out of the "woods" toward his boat), and the Palo Verde Valley near Blythe. The Indians cultivated these river bottoms after a fashion. They would poke holes in the wet mud after the spring floods, drop in the seeds, and then wait for nature to grow their crops.

The Spaniards must also have noticed the river terraces on the California side north of Blythe. No mention is made in the account of the giant figures scraped by ancient inhabitants in the dark "desert pavement" on those terraces, and in other locations along that section of the river. We wonder if the figures were there then.[23]

The high canyon walls mentioned in the account may have been near the present Parker Dam. Doubtless they noticed the barren and highly-colored small desert ranges in the distance, and wondered, as Spaniards always wondered, about the possibility of minerals, chiefly gold. They did not know, as they passed the mountains to the west, that later white men like Wyatt Earp would be mining gold there, or that ore in the mountains across the river would set off a major gold rush in the 1860's.

Alarcón made 2 trips up and down the lower Colorado, along the eastern boundary of California, and turned back only when, because of

hostile tribes up river, neither Spaniard nor Indian, but only a reluctant negro slave, would go on toward Quivira with him. He left a note under a cross for the Coronado party, which he had failed to find; then he returned with his report to Mendoza, having missed Díaz by some 2 weeks to 2 months. Other events prevented a second proposed attempt to make a connection with Coronado's men.

DIAZ

The other side of the story is told in Castaneda's and others' accounts of the expedition of Melchior Díaz, that staunch old reliable of Coronado's captains, who, in 1540 also, was sent to meet Alarcón.

Coming northwest along the later Camino del Diablo, Díaz's party reached California near Yuma, naming the river Tizón (Firebrand) from the Yumas' method of warming themselves. They marched down the east side until they found Alarcón's message under the cross, then they returned, and, after some difficulty with the Indians, they crossed the river and proceeded down the west side until stopped by volcanic activity and lack of water, probably near the Cocopa Mountains and Volcano Lake.[24] They could not have seen much of California, except perhaps Pilot Knob and the willow- and cottonwood-filled river bottoms in the extreme southwest corner.

We know, however, that they actually walked within its future boundaries and must have seen many things that were not written down. Díaz himself did not write the account. He was fatally injured in an accident along the river, and his men must have been concerned with getting him back to a priest at Corrazones, fighting skirmishes with the Indians along the way and later grieving over their leader's tragic death. News of the expedition was gathered afterwards, from men of the party, for Castañeda, official chronicler of the Coronado expedition.

RODRIGUEZ CABRILLO

In 2 years, the scene had shifted to the area along the coast of Alta California were Rodríguez Cabrillo, exploring by ship as the only means of approach to this isolated land, made his stormy voyage. He and Ferrelo were sent north in 1542 to examine the coast, and it is therefore no accident that the report of the voyage—an anonymous diary—is concerned chiefly with navigation, weather, and shelter or harbors for vessels.[25] When the type and condition of the ships they were using are considered, the time of year, the state of the science of navigation in the 16th century, the topography of the coast, and the fact that they were

the first ever to enter those waters, one may well wonder that the members of Cabrillo's party were able to observe and record as much as they did.

Not only did the expedition do a creditable job in charting the coastal waters and discovering the terrain, but, with the interests of the Church, whose Pious Fund often helped out with expenses, in mind, they included extremely interesting accounts of the appearance, behavior, and customs of the heathen Indians they were the first to encounter. The hesitancy, excitement and curiosity — and courage — on the part of both Indians and Spaniards can be imagined, as well as a possible grin on Cabrillo's face as the natives pranced about, throwing non-existent lances from imaginary hobby-horses. At San Diego the chronicler wrote:

> . . . in the morning three adult Indians came to the ships and said by signs that in the interior men like us were travelling about, bearded, clothed, and armed like those of the ships. They made signs that they carried crossbows and swords; and they made gestures with the right arm as if they were throwing lances, and ran around as if they were on horseback. They made signs that they were killing many native Indians, and that for this reason they were afraid.

Cabrillo's men went ashore twice, and noted the configuration of the harbor mouth. Sailing north, the chronicler mentions that they could see many valleys and plains and mountains in the interior — a fair general description of the stretch from San Diego to Long Beach. They discovered Santa Catalina and San Clemente islands, and landed on one of them to question the Indians. Heading back to the mainland, they noticed a large bay (San Pedro) which they called a good port; the country also seemed good to them, with valleys, plains, and groves.

Near Ventura they anchored in front of a large valley on the coast, and noted that at this point the latter ran from northwest to southeast. From the Indians they learned that the valley contained much food, and that there was a great river. High mountains and broken country appeared to the Spaniards to lie behind the valley. This would be up the Ventura River toward Ojai. News must have preceded them by Indian "telegraph," for here, though they knew about the cruelty of Coronado's men toward Indians, they apparently trusted Cabrillo's party. The account has this to say about the Indians here:

> We saw on the land a pueblo of Indians close to the sea, the houses being large like those of New Spain. . . . Here there came to the ships many very good canoes, each of which held twelve or thirteen Indians. . . . They indicated by signs that in seven days they could go to where the Spaniards were. . . . The Indians dress

in skins of animals; they are fishermen and eat raw fish; they were eating maguey also.

As they continued through the Santa Barbara Channel, the account mentions that they passed 2 islands (really 3 – Santa Cruz, Santa Rosa, and San Miguel), which were dry and uninhabited but had good ports; and that the mainland, a country of many savannahs and groves, trended west-northwest. Here the Indians were numerous and prosperous because of the food available in the large, fertile valleys and in the channel – fish, elk and other game, and an abundance of edible plants. The Indians brought them some of the food and described their country, but Cabrillo's men did not explore inland.

The Spaniards made frequent stops along the channel, the Indians swarming out to the ships, poking into this and prying into that. We can imagine the Spaniards getting restive, and the officers having to exercise a firm hand to maintain proper hospitality, thus encouraging their own safety and not cutting off such an important source of information and supplies.

Oct. 15. The whole coast is densely populated; and many Indians kept boarding the ships. They pointed out the pueblos and told us their names.... They also said that there were many cows [probably elk].

Oct. 17 [near Gaviota]. The Indians brought many sardines, fresh and very good.... They were dressed in skins, and wore their hair very long and tied up with long strips interwoven with the hair, there being attached to the strings many gewgaws of flint, bone and wood.

Nov. 6 [near Pt. Concepción]. The Indians came aboard with water and fish, and appeared very friendly. They have in their pueblos large plazas, and have an enclosure like a fence; and around the enclosure they have many blocks of stone set in the ground, and projecting three palms above it. Within the enclosures they have many timbers set up like thick masts. On these poles they have many paintings, and we thought that they worshipped them, because when they dance they go dancing around the enclosure.

Pt. Concepción they named Cape Galera, because the headland formed a cape that looked like a galley. It was the beginning of November, and there, where the settlements stopped, the Spaniards struck the storms that were to plague them the rest of the voyage. From their diminutive vessels they discovered the steep, shelterless stretch from Pismo to Carmel, now known as the Santa Lucia Range, which they called San Martín. Anyone who has driven California Highway 1 along here knows exactly what they meant when they said, "All along it runs a chain of very high mountains. It is as high at the seacoast as in the interior, and the sea beats upon it.... Their northwest extremity forms

a cape which juts into the sea [Pt. Pinos]." Northwest of here, in passing, they noticed a timber-covered cape (near Ft. Ross Cove) and large, snow-covered, forested mountains. The expedition, with Cabrillo in command, turned back about here because of the succession of terrible storms and the lack of any shelter.

Having turned south, they came close to shore "and found themselves in a great bay, which came at a turn and which appeared to have a port and a river [Drake's Bay] . . . beating about . . . until they saw that there was neither river nor shelter." From there south, the account goes on:

> The coast is very high. There are mountains which reach the sky, and the sea beats on them. When sailing along near the land, it seems as if the mountains would fall upon the ships. They are covered with snow to the summit, and they named them the Sierra Nevadas. At the beginning of them a cape is formed which projects into the sea, and which they named Cape Nieve.

This has been identified by Davidson as the San Francisco peninsula.[26] From Drake's Bay to Santa Cruz there is just such a coast. At the point opposite the Golden Gate (which they did not discover), the ships must have been driven out to sea a considerable distance, from which point Alcatraz and Angel islands may have seemed to be part of the continuous range. No mention is made in the Cabrillo account, however, of the Farallones.

Meanwhile we can imagine how the tension on board increased. Cabrillo, who had broken his arm just below the shoulder while they were at Cuyler's Harbor on San Miguel Island, was undoubtedly in great pain, which would not have been eased by the tossing of the tiny craft in the storms; added to this physical suffering was the worry caused him when the flagship lost track of the even-smaller, deckless frigate for a while. There must have been mixed emotions, too, among the officers, as they came to realize that their captain would not finish the voyage. There is no mention of his accident or illness at the time. The entry announcing his death is brief and unemotional, as befits an official document:

> Passing the winter on the Island of La Posesion, on the third of the month of January, 1943, Juan Rodríguez Cabrillo, captain of said ships, departed from this life, as the result of a fall which he suffered on said island when they were there before, from which he broke an arm near the shoulder. He left as captain the chief pilot, who was one Bartolome Ferrelo, a native of the Levant. At the time of his death he emphatically charged them not to leave off exploring as much as possible of all that coast. They named the island the Island of Juan Rodríguez.[27]

Cabrillo was a man of long experience in the service of Spain. He was

said to have been with Cortez in the conquest of Mexico and later with Alvarado.[28] Whatever character he had, its strength in one respect—devotion to duty—may be seen from the fact that, in spite of his suffering, he begged his men to go on with the expedition. He also must have been gifted in inspiring loyalty among his officers and men, who renamed the island where he died after him. Instead of succumbing to hardship and peril and returning to home and safety, at his request they went back into the teeth of the gale in order to achieve the success of the voyage.

After Cabrillo's death on San Miguel Island, the account of the second voyage north under Ferrelo tightens up, and is concerned mainly with the difficulties of sailing and the constant storms and other hardships. This time they sailed as far north probably as the Rogue River, and returned to Navidad with very few geographical data to add to the previous record, only stopping a few times in southern California for supplies from the friendly Indians.

The most significant discoveries of Cabrillo's expedition relating to California were the good harbor at San Diego, the islands off shore, the favorable and populous coast from San Diego to Pt. Concepción, and the forbidding shores from there north to the state line. This, of course, was from the Spanish contemporary objective in regard to harbors and settlements.

DRAKE

Some 37 years afterwards, Francis Drake, with an entirely different purpose, approached the California shore, and was the first to send a scouting party into the area surrounding the camp. Having sailed north in the Pacific to about the latitude of Trinidad Bay, partly looking for the Strait of Anian and partly searching for a favorable place to repair the *Golden Hind*, Drake finally headed east in the intense cold of June 5, 1579, and made a landfall. But finding this coast unsuitable for landing, he proceeded south, keeping close to land, and, rounding Pt. Reyes, headed "into a faire and good Baye" in which he anchored.* After reconnoitering, the Englishmen beached the ship and made camp on shore, while the Indians watched from their vantage point on the "white cliffs." Those who had houses close to the beach showed up with gifts for Drake, and he returned the courtesy with donations of clothing to cover their nakedness (Parson Fletcher talking?). At some of the things

*For a recent discussion of Drake's anchorage, see this QUARTERLY, March 1957, pages 21-34.

the English had, the Indians marveled.[29] The account describes their pit houses with cone-shaped wooden roofs. A fire was built in the middle of the house to heat it, and the beds were of rushes. The men go naked, but the women make loose skirts of bulrushes (tules?), knit together at the waist and hanging down over their shoulders. The chaplain adds, with perhaps a hint of a sermon to independent Elizabethan women, "These women are very obedient and seruiceable to their husbands."

The same chronicler also comments several times on the long-winded oratory of these people (was he perhaps guilty himself in this regard?):

> And when they came to the top of the hill (at the bottome whereof we had pitched our tents) they staied themselues: Where one appointed for speaker, wearied himselfe with making a long oration, which done, they left their bowes vpon the hill, and came downe with their presents.

He describes the Indian king coming down the hill to the camp with many followers and much ceremony, noting the costumes and decorations of feathers, bone, shell, and skins. Men, women and children all carried gifts. As the Indians approached, Drake gathered his men into a sort of stockade that they had built as a recognizable preparedness device. Another long-winded oration was delivered by the red man, followed by a general "amen" from all the Indians. Then they came down hill toward the stockade, where they got Drake to sit and be crowned with a crown of feathers. So as not to offend the Indians, he accepted the crown, the decorations, the scepter they gave him, and the songs, ceremony, and homage, but in the name of Queen Elizabeth. At this point and for some time after, the English had forcefully to prevent the Indian women from tearing their faces with their nails as part of a native ceremony, and they tried to direct the women's attention heavenward toward God instead. This sounds much like the experience of Alarcón on the Colorado (and Vizcaíno later on Catalina Island), but of course, the English, unlike the Spanish, did not have missionary plans.

Apparently Drake did not do much exploring, though he came in June and left the last part of August. They were busy putting the ship in order for the long voyage across the Pacific. But he did visit some Indian villages a short way inland: "Our necessarie busines being ended, our Generall with his companie trauailed vp into the Countrey to their villages, where wee found heardes of Deere by 1000. in a companie, being most large, and fat of bodie." Drake named and claimed the country, New Albion, and set up a brass plate on a post, before he sailed away to the west.

An interesting comment in this account seems to indicate that the English on board the *Golden Hind* had not heard of Cabrillo's voyage: "It seemeth that the Spaniards hitherto had neuer bene in this part of the Countrey, neither did euer discouer the lande by many degrees, to the Southwards of this place."

UNAMUNO

After Arellano and Urdaneta discovered an easier northern route back to New Spain from the Philippines in 1565, the Manila galleon or galleons became an annual commercial venture. Gali, sailing still farther north via the Japan Current, made a landfall in 1584 on the California coast off Cape Mendocino. It was named for the ambitious Viceroy Mendoza who had sponsored the Alarcón expedition, and the cape appeared thus on maps shortly after Gali's voyage. Gali did not land, however. We have record of only 2 galleons that did so, and then only briefly.

With the discovery by the Cabrillo expedition of several possible harbors along the California coast, the idea of California as a way-station for the galleons gained in importance and feasibility. When the news of Drake's exploits in the Pacific reached Spanish ears, another reason for learning about the land north of New Spain became urgent. It was logical to the armchair navigators in Madrid and Mexico City that, since the galleons were already in the neighborhood of the California coast, their captains should keep an especially astute eye out for harbors and places suitable for settlement along their route south. There can be little doubt that many captains with battered vessels, as well as sick sailors and starving or thirsty merchant-passengers, cast longing glances at the land so close and inviting, yet so useless to them.[30]

In 1587, Unamuno sighted 2 small islands near the California shore and a great bay to the south. He anchored his galleon, landed on the beach, noticed a lagoon behind the sand bar, and had scouts climb the wooded hills that ringed the bay. They also explored 2 days' march inland along a typical California arroyo, shaded by willows, cottonwoods and other dense growth, and with a dry, sandy bed except where rock near the surface brought the water up into little pools. The stream led east between and around low hills and into an area of high hills, where a great gap showed in the distance. The location was probably Morro Bay where Los Osos or Chorro Creek might have been the river; or San Luis Obispo Bay and the San Luis Creek. However, fearing, with such a small force, to venture too far from camp because of uncertainty about

the Indians who had been watching from the hills, Unamuno decided to turn back. As the little party came in sight of the ship, the Indians attacked, and the exploring party and the Spaniards in camp beat a retreat to the ship and sailed back to New Spain. The account of the landing comprises a small part of the report of Unamuno's voyage from the Philippines.[31] The site of the landing has never been definitely located.

RODRIGUEZ CERMENO

In 1595 Cermeño, a much vaunted Portuguese pilot, was specifically instructed to explore the California coast on his way south after the Pacific crossing. He encountered the coast as usual near Cape Mendocino and the bay that is now probably Shelter Cove, but did not anchor because it was "too rocky." Realizing that he could not sail close enough to the shore in the *San Augustin*, he had anchored in Drake's Bay, and was engaged in building small boats for the purpose of exploration, when his galleon was wrecked in a storm. The voyage south was continued in the 2 makeshift craft, the minds of the Spaniards naturally more on their survival from illness and starvation, and on possible consequences of the loss of the galleon and its cargo, than on geography, though it is known that they anchored at Pt. Sur, San Luis Obispo Bay, the Channel Islands, and San Pedro Bay, to get water and food from the Indians.[32]

Even the armchair navigators now came to realize the unsuitability of the galleons for exploration.

The next expedition was planned solely for that purpose, and was successful in making additional information available to Spanish navigators and later explorers, even though the government did not see fit to make use of it for almost a century and a half. This expedition was led by Vizcaíno.

VIZCAINO

Not even a sea captain nor pilot, Vizcaíno, a former trader who had been on a Manila galleon plundered by Cavendish in 1588, was originally given a contract to develop pearl fisheries and to promote colonization in Baja California along the gulf. This was one of 3 related enterprises sponsored by Viceroy Velasco, the other 2 being the Cermeño expedition on the California coast, and the Oñate expedition to colonize New Mexico, one of whose primary aims was protection for the Strait of Anian. Vizcaíno's venture up the gulf in 1596 was finally carried on under a new viceroy, the Conde de Monterrey, who expressed some opposition.

Vizcaíno failed in the gulf operation, but volunteered to lead another, and, in spite of this failure, the viceroy, surprised to find so much ability in a mere merchant, allowed Vizcaíno to conduct a second expedition. This time, however, the emphasis was shifted from the gulf to the outer coast, the former area to be undertaken on the return voyage.

It was difficult to get men to ship as sailors only, so Vizcaíno was allowed to hire a better type of crew capable of acting both as sailors and soldiers. The little armada consisted of the *Santo Tomás* (admiral's ship), the *Tres Reyes* (a frigate) and the *San Diego* (captain's ship) whose chief pilot, Bolaños, had been with Cermeño at Drake's Bay in 1595. The chief cosmographer was Captain Palacios, and there were 3 Carmelite fathers, Asumpción, Tomás de Aquino, and Ascensión, the latter a cosmographer and pilot on the Indies run before he took holy orders.

The Vizcaíno party touched the state of California first at San Diego, which they named in honor of that saint's feast day, not for their ship. They thought it a very good port, with supplies of wood, fish, game, friendly Indians, and a useful tide. They landed on the beach and built a hut for saying mass. They beached the ships and scraped them, and took on supplies and water. All in all, they stayed 10 days, and the Vizcaíno diary describes an exploring trip with the frigate 6 leagues further into the bay,[33] made by Vizcaíno, Ascensión, and the chief pilot, who found it large enough for all kinds of vessels and more secure than their anchorage, likewise better for careening ships. They also went ashore, going 3 leagues along it. The Indians here were rather shy, essaying to send up a trial balloon in the form of an expendable old woman, to meet the Spaniards. Seeing that they treated her kindly, the rest of the Indians came and took the Spaniards to their rancherías. Wise in the ways of the enlisted man, Vizcaíno forbade the soldiers to enter the rancherías. The Indians accompanied them back to the ships, repeatedly brought gifts, and shouted goodby from the beach as they sailed away.

At Santa Catalina Island, also named by Vizcaíno, the Spaniards admired the Indians' boats. They were "canoes of cedar and pine, made of planks very well joined and calked, each one with 8 oars and with 14 or 15 Indians, who looked like galley-slaves."[34] The Indians came aboard and, perhaps remembering Cabrillo, showed no fear, and later acted as pilots in guiding the ships to the anchorage. There were politeness and gifts on both sides. The Spanish built a hut, said mass, and the Indians marveled.

Here the diary notes a bit of feminine psychology. The Indian women took Vizcaíno by the hand into their houses. Returning,

> he brought to the ship six Indian girls from 8 to 10 years old, whom their mothers willingly gave him, and he clothed them with chemises, pettitoats, and necklaces and sent them ashore. The rest of the women, seeing this, came with their daughters in canoes, asking for gifts. The result was that no one returned empty-handed.

Ladies' taste for finery, and their rivalry concerning their daughters, would seem to know no limits in time or space. The diary also contains another note concerning the habits of these island natives: "The people go dressed in seal skins, the women especially covering their loins, and their faces show them to be modest; but the men are thieves, for anything they saw unguarded they took."

Near the center of the island, Vizcaíno found a level prairie and a clearing containing a hideous native idol. He set up a cross and put the name of Jesus on the head of the demon, telling the Indians that the idol was the devil, but that the cross was from heaven. The Indians seemed impressed.

Another link with the Cermeño expedition (besides Bolaños, the pilot) appears in the account:

> An Indian woman brought him [Vizcaíno] two pieces of figured China silk, in fragments, telling him that they had got them from people like ourselves, who had negroes; that they had come on the ship which was driven by a strong wind to the coast and wrecked, and that it was farther on.

Vizcaíno tried to take some Indians on board, to guide them to the place, but the natives finally decided they would rather go ahead in their own canoes, and Vizcaíno did not insist. Because of adverse winds, the ships were not able to follow the Indians.

On their way through the Santa Barbara Channel, the individual ships met up with Indians at the islands and on the mainland, finding them friendly and eager to visit, as had Cabrillo. The configuration of Pt. Concepción was noted, as well as the presence of timber in the area and many natives.

On December 13, 1602, they discovered Monterey Bay. On the 16th they landed and built a hut for mass near where they had found fresh water and a great oak near the shore.[35] They named the port for the viceroy. Vizcaíno's description runs as follows:

> Mass having been said and the day having cleared, there having been much fog, we found ourselves to be in the best port that could be desired, for besides being sheltered from all the winds,[36] it has many pines for masts and yards, and

live oaks and white oaks, and water in great quantity, all near the shore. The land is fertile, with a climate and soil like those of Castile; there is much wild game, such as harts, like young bulls, deer, buffalo, very large bears, rabbits, hares, and many other animals and many game birds, such as geese, partridges, quail, crane, ducks, vultures, and many other kinds of birds which I will not mention lest it become wearisome. The land is thickly populated with numberless Indians, of whom a great many came several times to our camp. They appeared to be a gentle and peaceable people. They said by signs that inland there are many settlements. The food which these Indians most commonly eat, besides fish and crustaceans, consists of acorns and another nut larger than a chestnut.

In other words, Monterey was a perfect place for a Spanish settlement and, as Bolton liked to call it, a "cabbage patch" for the galleons.

Like the others, he complains of the intense cold, with mountains covered with snow like Popocatepetl, and the spring freezing at night to a palm's depth. Besides, they were more than usually plagued by that scourge of long voyages, scurvy. It was decided to change plans and send the *Santo Tomás* back to New Spain for supplies, carrying the sick, with Father Tomás de Aquino, also ill, to confess them.

On New Year's Day, 1603, Vizcaíno led a party,

inland, toward the southeast, having heard of a copious stream that ran into the sea and of another good headland, and in order better to see the lay of the land and its people and animals. He proceeded some three leagues when he discovered another good port [Carmel Bay] into which entered a copious river descending from some high, snow-covered mountains with large pines, white and black poplars, and willows. . . . No people were found because, on account of the great cold, they were living in the interior.

Continuing the voyage north, now with only the *San Diego* and the frigate, and the more able-bodied of the fast-failing officers and crews, they reached Drake's Bay, a familiar place, on January 9. All along, they had intended stopping there, but, not wishing to lose favorable winds, and in a hurry to finish the northward journey because of so many who were sick, they anchored only overnight outside the bay. Bolaños, in a derrotero (ship's course) of 1603, reported that the bay by Pt. Reyes was a good refuge from south or southeast winds at the southwest part of a small bay which the east part of the point makes, and he lined up the Farallones from the point. But he also added that the wreck of the *San Augustin* was more the captain's fault than the weather.[37]

All the while, storm and health conditions were rapidly growing worse. The *San Diego* and the *Tres Reyes* were separated, and did not meet again until they reached home port. At Cape Mendocino, so many were sick aboard the *San Diego* that there were only 2 left able to climb

to the maintopsail. They decided to turn back, but more south wind and storms drove them to 41°. Only then did the wind change to northwest, and they could turn southward, skirting along the coast, re-observing, but not stopping, even when the Indians signaled them, because of the condition of the men:

> The sick were clamoring, although there was neither assistance nor medicines nor food to give them except rotten jerked beef, gruel, biscuits, and beans and chick-peas spoiled by weevils. The mouths of all were sore, and their gums were swollen larger than their teeth, so that they could hardly drink water, and the ship seemed more like a hospital than a ship of an armada. Affairs were in such a condition that anyone who had ever in his life been at the helm steered, climbed to the maintopsail, and did the other tasks, and all who could walk assisted at the hearth, making gruel and porridge for the sick.

And then again, farther south, at Catalina Island, "Although many canoes of Indians came with fish and other things, inviting us to go to them, the general did not dare cast anchor among them, as he did not have men strong enough to raise the anchors, and as the sick were dying of hunger." This is merely one of many eye-witnesses' accounts of the terrible conditions aboard ship on long voyages, but it prompts one to conclude that there must have been giants in those days.

If conditions were bad on the *San Diego*, they must surely have been much worse aboard the little frigate. After being separated in the storms near Drake's Bay, the *Tres Reyes* had also been driven north by the winds. The commander and pilot both died, and a very able boatswain brought her safely home with only 6 men left alive. In his declaration, this boatswain reported that they had gone even farther north, to 43°. "In latitude 39¼° he discovered a copious river, and an island at the entrance of a very good and secure port, and another large bay in latitude 40½°, into which another large river emptied." The coast, he said, ran northeast from Cape Mendocino to Cape Blanco, which Torquemada assumed to indicate the beginning of the Strait of Anian. Davidson thought this first river was probably Tomales bay, and the second river, if it really existed, was perhaps the Rogue.

Geographically and historically, the most important discovery of the Vizcaíno expedition was Monterey Bay. After his exploration of San Diego Bay, it is hard to understand Vizcaíno's and Ascensión's enthusiasm for Monterey as a harbor, unless it was because it looked better by contrast to their difficulties. For their purposes, its location was possibly Monterey's greatest asset. San Diego was too far south for the galleon, and San Francisco, through all these voyages, had not yet been discovered.

Vizcaíno and Ascensión were the real geographers of the California coast. They ignored most of the names previously bestowed on places of importance and substituted their own hagiology. The voyage was the most careful and complete survey of the coast hitherto attempted, in spite of the exhausting hardships. The charts and reports turned in to the Spanish government filled in many previously-blank areas with descriptions of shores, mountains, inlets, and climate. Though Father Ascensión's map of 1620 showed California as an island, his delineation of the coast, except for the omission of the great San Francisco Bay and the addition of the boatswain's non-existent river in the north, is surprisingly accurate.

Vizcaíno was the last to explore the area for many years, partly because the attention of the Spanish government shifted to those mythical islands, Rica de Oro and Rica de Plata, near the coast of Japan, as stopovers for the galleons, instead of California. This shift of interest and lull in activity of exploration along the California coast may very well be the reason why Vizcaíno's names have persisted.

ONATE

Return must be made to the Colorado for the next glimpse of the California scene. It was only a glimpse, but this time the river acquired its present name. Coming from New Mexico in 1604, Oñate and his party encountered the Little Colorado, and named it for the quantity of red silt which it carried. They followed it down to the main river, which here they named Buena Esperanza, though nearer the gulf it was still called the Tizón. The upper name stuck, however, and anyone acquainted with the lower reaches of the river before the dams were built, will recall that a bucket of water dipped out of the river and allowed to settle would yield an abundant proportion of mud. The tremendous delta, of course, bears witness to the accumulation of centuries.

Oñate followed the east side of the Colorado to its mouth, and found it navigable from where he encountered it. Father Zarate's account mentions several times that they "saw only what was along the road." They probably did not set foot on California soil, but they certainly looked across the river at the bare and brilliant desert mountains, arid valleys, and the canyons and terraces made by the river. They must have seen the great mass of sand dunes west of Yuma. Along the route, they repeatedly questioned the Indians who seemed coöperative; and among the Yumas the Spaniards found the certain "blue shells" (aba-

lone) which the Indians said came from a "sea behind a very large mountain, on the skirts of which the Buena Esperanza River enters the sea." The Indians possibly meant that part of the Peninsula Range that lies between the Yuma Desert and San Diego. The main stream of the Colorado ran somewhat farther west then than now. Or they may have been embroidering a good story. The presence of these shells and other stories told by the Indians led Oñate to believe that the Pacific was not far from the Colorado, and that there was a passage to it through which the Indians traded.

KINO

If we stretch the 17th century a few years, we can include the discoveries of Father Kino, which rightly belong in this period.

An expert mathematician and astronomer of international importance, Father Kino had been educated to believe that California was a peninsula. But when he came to Mexico, the popular idea and contemporary maps showed it as an island, and, for this and other reasons he was converted to the insular idea. Appointed royal cosmographer of California on his assignment to Baja California in 1683, Kino gathered all the information he could find on California from both maps and narratives, and issued his map of 1696.[38] But, unsatisfied with theory, he resolved to see for himself. Exploring in the period between 1690 and 1708, Kino made a series of reports and maps. Later expeditions up the gulf coast and down the Gila, and finally down the Colorado itself, had led him, by the turn of the century, to reverse his opinions about California and the gulf.

The Indians from Baja California, who came to the Yuma region, were in possession of a certain type of blue shells which they said did not come from the gulf but from a great sea a little farther to the west. These were the same as the ones Oñate had noticed. Tracing these shells and the stories of the Colorado River Indians, in 1701 Kino made several trips into the area of the Santa Clara Mountains in Sonora, from which heights he, Lt. Manje, and Father Salvatierra were able to see practically to the end of the gulf, and the Sierra Madre of California trending toward the mountains of his own Pima country.

In the same year, not satisfied with merely seeing from a distance the probable head of the gulf, the indefatigable father set out once more, this time along the Gila toward Yuma, and down the Colorado along its old channel, then across the river in a basket on a raft, towed by his Indian friends, to a point on the modern channel near Abelardo. He

turned back because he was worried about the rumors a previous deserter might be spreading in Sonora about his (Kino's) safety.[39]

But the next year (1702) he was back on the Colorado, this time following the east side to the mouth, and, though Kino failed to mention the tidal bore, he did write with great satisfaction that he saw the sun rise "over the head of the Sea of California, proof most evident that we are now in California," meaning, of course, the peninsula. But his friend and companion, Father Rector Gonzales, who had been ailing, now became so ill that they had to give up their projected visit with the Indians in Baja California, and the party started back.

Father Kino now triumphantly drew a new map which made him famous. It gave the results of his explorations since 1696, and was designed to show that Baja California was a peninsula. This map was essentially correct in its detail of the Colorado region.[40] The Colorado River had been called by many names, among them Buena Guia, Tizón, Buena Esperanza, and Rio del Norte. But Father Kino adopted Oñate's name, Colorado, and, perhaps because of Kino's eminence as a cartographer, the name became permanent.

Not only did Father Kino establish the peninsularity of Baja California and the name for the Colorado River. It was he also who proposed the division into California Alta and California Baja, with a boundary at 30°.[41] He foresaw a land route from Pimería Alta to proposed Spanish settlements on the coast, perhaps San Diego in particular. As an experienced founder and administrator of missions in Sonora, he realized the value of the possibility of driving cattle and bringing women and children along an all-land route. He was truly the forerunner and the inspiration for Garcés and Anza, who finally accomplished their common dream.

Chapman thought there was strong indication that Kino's reports were an indirect cause of action by the Spanish government in developing facilities in northern Sonora. Kino's *Favores Celestiales*, a memorial on California, was taken to Rome in 1701 by the Jesuit procurators, Rolandegui and de Vera. Since they had just passed through Spain, its substance may have been presented by the procurators to King Charles V, and by him to the Council of the Indies in 1703. Many ideas from this memorial were contained in a 1716 decree, which, like many others, called for more information on the progress of the Sonora missions. And money was allotted for the purpose. At the same time, verbal instructions were given to the viceroy to explore further the Pacific coasts, and

found colonies and presidios. Also, from Kino's time on, the project of a Spanish settlement on the Colorado kept emerging.[42] Kino's eminence and careful scholarship, and the political importance of his Jesuit order, may have been factors in hastening the permanent settlement of Alta California, while his insatiable curiosity and tireless personal exploration certainly paved the way for its possibility over a land route.

CONCLUSION

Thus we come to the end of an era, the time when much of the exploration concerning California was done by ship because that was practically the only way one could get there. When land routes were discovered via Baja California and Sonora, a new period of exploration began and the gaps in Spanish knowledge along the coast and along the Colorado were filled in. Greatest gap of all was, of course, San Francisco Bay, which had to be discovered from a hilltop instead of a crow's nest. There are probably geographical reasons for this, too. The weatherman's familiar "fog along the coast" may have disguised the narrow entrance. Perhaps the winding nature of the bay, with Angel Island directly in line with the Golden Gate, looking much like another mountain in the Santa Cruz Range, may have fooled the seafarers.[43] Hidden for 200 years from Iberian and English eyes, the port now appeared to Ortega and Father Crespí of Portolá's party.

There is an interesting relationship between Spain's two areas of exploration. In 1602 Father Ascensión apparently thought little or knew nothing of the discoveries of Ulloa and Alarcón or Díaz in the gulf-river region, or, expert that he was, he would not have emphasized the insularity of California. Perhaps it is understandable, considering the difficulties of transportation and communication, that the Spanish government did not seem to link the information available from these two areas or begin to see the importance of their relationship until Kino's time, and when Garcés and Anza were able to fill the need for a land route from Sonora to California. Nevertheless, these two series of explorations were integral parts of a single movement in a single period.

But there was a difference of approach. The progress of Spain up the coast had a distinct flavor of the sea about it. Exploration was done by and for the welfare of ships, and with the threat in mind of ships from other nations.[44]

Though early exploration of the gulf and the lower Colorado was begun by ships, their function was subsidiary to the land exploration which soon followed. Spain's permanent land base of supply was ad-

vancing slowly northward, as Coronado's search for treasure gave way to Kino's search for more land to settle, more souls to save, and more knowledge of geography. Both groups, in the end, consciously looked forward to settlement and to development of the new land, as Vizcaíno, Ascensión, Kino, and many others made specific suggestions and outlined plans to the government in Mexico City and to the king in Spain.

It remained for the pioneers of the 18th century to learn what Spain had really acquired in Alta California. Portolá and Crespí, Fages and Rivera, Anza and Font, along the coast and the coastal valleys; Fages and Garcés into the San Joaquin; and a host of later soldiers and missionaries following the Indians part way into the interior—to save Indian souls or Spanish horses—widened the area which was known in the eighteenth century. Toward the end of the century, greater use of boats ended the role of San Francisco Bay as a barrier, and settlement spread somewhat to the north. Not until the 19th century, when the Americans came with their enterprise and the rush for gold, were the Great Valley, the Sierra, and the north mountains explored and mapped, and, of course, many areas of the state are still not settled.

But that is another story. Let it suffice that by 1700 or thereabouts California was known, named, and explored at its very edges. The world had a peek at a great unknown land, a land of danger, mystery, and, as the Spaniards had hoped, even treasure.

NOTES

1. The Bible, *Isaiah*, chap. 65, verse 17—a symbolic utterance, there; but in 1530, Nicolaus Copernicus (1473-1543) published a brief popular account of his heliocentric theory, which was formally printed in 1543 as *De Revolutionibus Orbium Coelestium.* Tycho Brahe's catalogue of over 770 stars appeared about 1590, to be followed a decade later (Nuremberg, 1603) by Johann Bayer's celestial atlas in which were shown "new" constellations, based on the reports of mariners who had crossed the equatorial line.

2. The Bible, *1st Kings*, chap. 10, verse 22. Some of these tributary items appeared (1918) in a poem, "Cargoes," by John Masefield, which was set to music, 2 years later, by Tom Dobson. The arrival of a *Peacock* that took to the sea is recorded by Bancroft (*Hist. of Calif.*, II, 37), among the vessels visiting the Pacific coast in 1806.

3. H. G. Wells, *The Outline of History* (New York, 1921), I, 217, gives the date of Hanno's voyage as about 520 B.C.; *cf.* Wells' "Chronology," in his vol. 2, p. 607, where the date is given as 470 B.C. According to Montesquieu (1689-1756), *The Spirit of Laws*, Book XXI (New York: Colonial Press, 1899), I, 352, "The relation of Hanno's voyage is a fine fragment of antiquity. It was written by the very man that performed it." (Not to be confused with the 3rd-century Hanno, called "The Great," statesman and general—not a navigator.)

4. *Ancient Egypt*, Flinders Petrie, ed., 1914, Part I, p. 26.

5. *Ibid.*, pp. 33-34.

6. See *Encyclopedia Britannica*, 11th ed. (Univ. of Cambridge, 1910-11), for separate articles on the ancient cities here mentioned.

7. Caesar's *War Commentaries*, ed. and transl. by John Warrington (London . . ., 1953), pp. 46-65, for his first invasion of Britain.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 72, for second invasion (54 B.C.).

9. Winston Churchill, *History of the English Speaking People: I, The Birth of Britain* (New York, 1956), 92-93. Albert Bushnell Hart (Harvard Univ.), "Reference History of the World," in *Webster's New International Dictionary* (Merriam ed., 1930), Pt. II, p. 12, gives 787 A.D. as the beginning of the Norse invasion of Britain, and Alfred the Great's defeat of the Danes as 878 A.D.

10. H. Morse Stephens, *The Story of Portugal* (New York, 1891), p. 153, says of Prince Henry the Navigator that, though he did not discover a direct sea course to the Indies, "if it existed, the gallant captains trained by him would find the route in time. . . ."

11. According to Henry R. Wagner, *The Manuscript Atlases of Battista Agnese* [active 1536-64], Bibliographical Soc. Am., *Papers*, XXV (1931), reprint, p. 2, the Crusades saw the origin of portolan charts (Italian, *porto*, harbor), with 8 main- and 24 quarter-winds indicated; a painted windrose or "compass rose" occupied the points of conjunction of the lines.

12. Wilbur Cortez Abbott, *The Expansion of Europe* (New York, 1924), I, 73-74, 261. For detailed account of the Crusades, see Ernest Barker, fellow of and lecturer in modern history, St. James College, Oxford, in *Encyclopedia Britannica* (as in note 6 above), VII, 524-52, especially pp. 547-49.

13. Scurvy (scorbutus) is characterized by debility, spongy gums, bleeding from mucous membranes, accompanied by loss of appetite, and pain in the muscles of the body and limbs. Gilbert Blane (1749-1834), *Observations on the Diseases of Seamen* (1795).

14. Prof. Frederick J. Turner, Univ. of Wisconsin, *The Significance of the Frontier in America* (Washington, D. C., 1894), p. 227.

15. In considering the services of the Mediterranean as wet-nurse to mariners, one is reminded, in reverse, of the evolution of the amphibians, who, in attempting to acquaint themselves with dry soil, "crept forth, hugging the moister ground and dallying long before they left the swamps to venture farther toward the land." Charles L. Camp, *Earth Song, A Prologue to History* (Univ. of Calif. Press, 1952), p. 21.

16. George E. Nunn, *Origin of the Strait of Anian Concept* (Philadelphia: privately printed, 1929), p. 27. As to the state's own name, *see* A. E. Sokol, "Cali-

fornia: a Possible Derivation of the Name," *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, March 1949, pp. 23-30.

17. Henry R. Wagner, *Cartography of the Northwest Coast of America to the Year 1800* (Univ. of Calif. Press, 1937), I, 68.

18. Henry R. Wagner, "Apocryphal Voyages to the North West Coast of America," *Proc. Amer. Antiquarian Soc.* (April 1931), pp. 8-9.

19. Amoretti, in 1811, published a copy of Maldonado's account of the 1588 voyage, together with 2 small polar-projection maps, the north one showing Maldonado's route, and 3 views of the Strait of Anian and the entrance to it, done in relief, with explanatory tables. These have been reprinted in Wagner, "Apocryphal Voyages . . .," pp. 52-57. John Davis (1550[?]-1605), "The Worlds Hydrographical Objections against Al Northerly Discoveries," in *The Voyages and Works of John Davis the Navigator* (London: Hakluyt Soc., 1880), pp. 196-98, maintained that "those northerly seas are wholly congealed, making but one mas or contenent of yse," and that "the Meridians doe so spedily gather themselves togeather, the parallels being a verye small proportion to a great circle . . . so that for lack of curious lyned globes . . . with many other instruments . . . of necessitie for that voyage, it should with great difficultie be attayned." However, by analogy with Asia, Africa, and Europe, he was convinced that America was an island.

20. Wagner, *Cartography . . .*, I, 94.

21. By various arguments and reasonable assumptions, Bolton thought that Alarcón did not get much beyond Yuma. Hanna, with equally plausible reasons, feels that Alarcón must have reached the area near the present Hoover Dam. Both men knew the country from personal experience. *See* Herbert E. Bolton, *Coronado, Knight of Pueblos and Plains* (Albuquerque: Univ. of N. Mex. Press, 1949), p. 168; and Phil Townsend Hanna, "Hail to Alarcón, Unsung Discoverer of California," *Westways*, Aug. 1940, pp. 8-9.

22. The only way the boats could proceed against the current was by having men pull them with ropes from along the shore – back-breaking toil in the unrelieved sticky heat of summer.

23. These figures were made by scraping away the characteristic desert pavement of gravel darkened by "desert varnish," leaving exposed the clear light ground on which to make the pattern. The human figures range in size from 92 to 167 ft. long, and are accompanied by quadrupeds, snakes, and other forms not necessarily realistic. Michael J. Harner, Univ. of Calif. Archeological Survey, *Report #20*, Papers on California Archeology: 21-22, issued March 16, 1953, p. 3.

24. Bolton, *Coronado . . .*, p. 174. For photograph of this area, *see* Godfrey Sykes, "Colorado Delta," Amer. Geogr. Soc., *Spec. Publ. #19* (1937), facing p. 70.

25. Descriptions and quotations in this section on Cabrillo are taken from a diary attributed sometimes to Ferrelo, or, with more weight of evidence, to Juan Paez, and translated in Herbert E. Bolton's *Spanish Explorations in the Southwest* (New York, 1925), pp. 13-39.

26. A chart (now on file in the library of the Calif. Hist. Soc.), comparing early explorers' coastal names with those in present use, has been adapted by the present writer from one compiled by George Davidson and printed in his "Ex-

amination of Some Early Voyages of Discovery and Exploration of the Northwest Coast of America, from 1539 to 1603," *U. S. Coast and Geodetic Survey Report*, 1886, App. 7, pp. 244-47.

27. Bolton, note 25 above.

28. *Ibid.*

29. Descriptions and quotations in this section on Drake are taken from Wagner's translation of the *Famous Voyage*. . . . This consisted of 6 supplementary printed leaves attached to *Principall Navigations and Voiages*, by Richard Hakluyt, published in 1589. Hakluyt drew from Francis Fletcher's account and from John Cooke's, and also from the *Anonymous Narrative*. *See* Henry R. Wagner, *Sir Francis Drake's Voyage Around the World* (San Francisco: John Howell, 1926), pp. 274-76.

30. According to Gemelli-Careri, who spoke from his personal experience aboard the Manila galleon in 1697: "The voyage from the Philippine Islands to America may be called the . . . most dreadful of any in the world, as well because of the vast ocean to be crossed . . . as for the terrible tempests that happen there, one upon the back of another, and for the desperate diseases that seize people in seven or eight months lying at sea . . . which is enough to destroy a man of steel, much more flesh and blood, which at sea had but indifferent food." G. F. Gemelli-Careri, *Voyage Round the World*, English transl. published Gray's Inn, London, for Thomas Osborne, 1752, p. 453.

31. "Voyage of Pedro de Unamuno to California in 1587," transl. by Irene A. Wright, with introd. by Henry R. Wagner, *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, July 1923.

32. Henry R. Wagner, "Voyage to California of Sebastian Rodríguez Cermeño in 1595," *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, April 1924, pp. 3-24.

33. *Ibid.* Wagner says that the 16th-century Spanish marine league was usually about 4 English miles; but he thinks Vizcaíno's league is somewhat long, anyway.

34. Descriptions and quotations from account called the Diary of Vizcaíno, in Bolton's *Spanish Explorations* . . ., note 25 above, pp. 44-102.

35. The dead stump of this oak can now be seen in the rear of the Presidio Church of San Carlos in Monterey, marked by a monument. The site where it originally grew is also marked.

36. In the account, the section describing their entering the port is closely preceded by a passage noting a southeast wind. The harbor is well protected from a southeast wind, but not from northwest storms. Davidson said that of course Vizcaíno overpraised it. But it was later used by the Spanish and by traders from all over the world, even after the discovery and settlement of San Francisco. Monterey is still home port for a substantial fishing fleet.

37. Wagner, note 32 above, pp. 5-6.

38. Kino's map of 1696 is reproduced in Herbert E. Bolton's *Rim of Christendom* (New York, 1936).

39. *Ibid.*, pp. 445-72.

40. *Ibid.*, p. 400.

41. *Ibid.*, p. 477.

42. Charles E. Chapman, *Founding of Spanish California* (New York, 1916), pp. 21-23.

43. Charles E. Chapman, "Effects of Geography upon California History," *Grizzly Bear Magazine*, May 1919, p. 3.

44. *The Pacific Ocean in History . . . Panama-Pacific Hist. Congr. . . .*, ed. by H. Morse Stephens and Herbert E. Bolton (New York, 1917); H. Morse Stephens, president's address, "The Conflict of European Nations in the Pacific Ocean," especially pp. 27-28, for the "battering blows of English and Dutch adventurers against the Spanish monopoly of America. . . . To understand the meaning of the success of these attempts, it is necessary to bear in mind the decay of the Spanish power in Europe during the seventeenth century." In spite of this, Spanish accomplishments were impressive, as indicated by Rafael Altamira y Crevea, "The Share of Spain in the History of the Pacific Ocean," same volume, pp. 34-54.

The Vineyards of Gen. M. G. Vallejo

By Madie D. Brown

The vine will thrive where the buckeye grows, according to the saying reported by a clergyman of the 1870's.[1] On what grounds this "saying" rests, is uncertain. It is true that in their wild state, both the buckeye (*Aesculus californica*) and the grape (*Vitis californica*) find the lower slopes of foothills and the banks of watercourses very much to their liking; also, neither of the 2 species is a social climber, although the buckeye might be, as Jepson was enthusiastic about its ornamental value for large and small estates and regretted its non-recognition as such. The wild grape, on the other hand, as if aware of its omission from lists of high-class viniferous varieties, destroys whatever chance it might have in other circles by twining itself, perversely, around the object of its affection – a valley oak, for instance – and choking the life out of it.[2] Be that as it may, in its original condition Sonoma Valley supported a luxuriant growth of native buckeye and oak, as well as alders, poplars, ash, laurel, and wild grape, all living happily together in soil moistened by springs from the underlying beds of the Sonoma foothills.[3] Six hundred and seven springs were counted by Padre José Altimira when he and Francisco Castro, with their armed escort under Ensign José Sánchez, were seeking a suitable site in 1823 on which to establish a mission in the bland climate of Sonoma Valley, away from the chilly fogs of San Francisco.

The expedition finally rested in their quest at a place near the northern foothills, close to a creek whose waters were deep enough for a launch to navigate and where a settlement might be made. A cross was planted at this spot on July 4, 1823, by Padre Altimira and the area was at first named New San Francisco;[4] but upon completion of the customary buildings and the selection of San Francisco Solano as patron saint, his name replaced the earlier designation. Especially valuable was the spring, nearby, which the missionaries called "El Ojo del Agua." As may be seen from an old drawing,[5] the spring was located in an area which is identified as lot #20 on Jasper O'Farrell's map (1850) of So-

noma. The mission chapel was built on lot #24. The map had been made on the order of Sonoma's second alcalde, L. W. Boggs, an appointee of California's military governor, Bennett Riley.[6]

To supply wine for the communion sacrament and for their personal use, the fathers planted a few vines of a small, dark-berried, cultivated variety which, since the Franciscan period, has come to be known as the Mission grape.[7] It appears from available records that after the padres the next person to plant grapevines in Sonoma Valley was Mariano Guadalupe Vallejo, to whom in 1834 the then-governor, José Figueroa, had given the task of secularizing San Francisco Solano Mission, and to whom he had granted land — Petaluma rancho — the same year. In 1835, as part of the government's colonization plans, Vallejo founded and named the pueblo of Sonoma, being raised, meanwhile, to military commander on the northern frontier. His participation, more or less direct, in military and political events and in commercial plans for the province, as well as his efforts in behalf of his family and himself, continued, so that at the conclusion of the American conquest his reputation was such that he was able to participate, this time directly, in the new state's affairs as a member of the constitutional convention of 1849 and as state senator the next year.[8]

In the matter of his country and town holdings, Julio Carrillo, the general's brother-in-law, had a vineyard northwest of the Sonoma plaza on a grant from José de los Santos Berreyesa. On November 4, 1849, he sold the vineyard to Oliver Bolieu for $1000,[9] who, 16 days later, sold it to General Vallejo, together with several lots in the vicinity, for $6000. On one of these lots, #345, Vallejo erected in 1851 his frame residence, which served as his home until his death in 1890. Several other lots in the Bolieu transaction formed a part of Vallejo's original Lachryma Montis vineyard.[10]

As said above, his interest in grapes began in 1834-35 during his labors in connection with the secularization of Mission San Francisco Solano and the founding of Sonoma. At that time he had planted some 400 vines, from the mission's neglected plot, in the rear of his adobe "Casa Grande," which stood on the north side of the plaza. Twelve large grapevines were described as having provided shade for the arbors in the casa's garden.[11] But Vallejo was not content to plant merely the Mission grape. He was a student of horticulture and delighted in trying out new and exotic fruits. In 1850 his friend, Thomas Green, who was interested in promoting the new town of Vallejo as the state capital of

California, sent him some imported grapevines from his hothouse in New York; they were called "Canon Hall" and were said to be "rare indeed, gold color, very sweet and immensely large."[12] On the other side of the ledger, some of the general's friends were not backward in asking him for specimens from his vineyards and orchards. Thomas G. White, who served with Vallejo in the first state legislature, wrote him on November 5, 1851: "Would it be asking you too much trouble for you to send a few hundred cuttings of your excellent grapes? . . . I am passionately fond of ornamental and fruit trees of every description. . . . The fig, grape, olive, apricot, apple and peach: rose bushes or other ornamental shrubbery or trees would be most acceptable."[13]

Other growers were exchanging information and samples relating to California horticulture. Some 3 years before (Jan. 1848), Charles E. Pickett, who had been one of General Vallejo's guards when he was a political prisoner of the Bear flag party at Sutter's Fort, was living in Sonoma. Pickett had befriended Vallejo; in gratitude, the general had put some of his land at Pickett's disposal.[14] The latter was combining farming with journalism and contributed a weekly story from Sonoma —which at that time had an estimated population of 260—to the *California Star*. One day he sent a box of grape cuttings, from his small vineyard, to James Douglas, chief factor of the Hudson's Bay Co. in Oregon, with a request for berry bushes and fruit trees in exchange. After a few months of farming, however, the gold rush had lured Pickett away from his vines into mercantile ventures in Sacramento and Coloma.[15]

General Vallejo, too, was busy with mercantile schemes in Benicia, Napa, and Sonoma.[16] His partner in these enterprises was Capt. John B. Frisbie (of Stevenson's Regiment), his future son-in-law. Aside from the business of fitting out the miners, Vallejo and Frisbie were occupied in developing the new towns of Benicia and Vallejo, but this did not mean that the Vallejo vineyards were neglected. With the aid of a good overseer, the general was able to produce fruit fine enough to win a silver medal in 1853 at the first agricultural fair held in San Francisco.[17]

Eighteen fifty-three was the year in which the Episcopal clergyman, Dr. J. L. Ver Mehr, opened his school for young ladies, St. Mary's Hall, in Sonoma.[18] Vallejo promised Ver Mehr his coöperation and the use of his adobe house on the plaza, but when the reverend gentleman arrived in August 1853, the general was not yet ready to vacate it. Instead, Dr. Ver Mehr rented the home of Mrs. Vallejo's widowed sister, Doña Josefa Carrillo de Fitch, on the west side of the plaza for $300 a month.[19]

Later, he was able to move into the general's spacious casa, for which he paid $145 a month.[20] He was given the income from the 12 arbor grapevines mentioned above, and one-half of the income from the vineyard in the rear of the house. The first year, Ver Mehr realized $300 from the sale of the arbor grapes, and $700 from his half-share in the vines at the rear.[21]

By 1856, General Vallejo's reputation for making fine red wine had reached the ears of Col. Agostin Haraszthy, the Hungarian nobleman who was living in San Francisco and was assayer at the San Francisco mint, having been appointed by President Franklin Pierce. Haraszthy's avocation was the growing of grapes. His interest led him to visit the general's vineyards in Sonoma. As a result of that visit, Colonel Haraszthy decided to make his home in Sonoma Valley. There, in its mineralized soil, he planted his famous Buena Vista vineyard and built his winery.[22]

Colonel Haraszthy was 5 years younger than General Vallejo. They became fast friends, in spite of the fact that they were rival producers of choice wines. A deep attachment existed between the young members of their families, which led to the marriage of Vallejo's daughters Natalia and Jovita to Haraszthy's sons Attila and Arpad. The double wedding, which occurred on June 1, 1863, has been the subject of several of the pageants during the annual vintage festivals in Sonoma.

Many awards and silver trophies were won by General Vallejo while his vineyards were under the supervision of P. A. Giovanari,[23] and his wine cellars under that of Dr. Victor J. Faure, homeopathic physician, who enjoyed a reputation as an experienced wine maker.[24] Visitors to the cellars, located in the old Sonoma barracks—which had been plastered inside so as to be clean; yet were dark and cool—spoke of the "perfect sweetness of the atmosphere." and commented on the cleanliness of the wine press, distilling apparatus, and wine vaults, in contrast to some sections of the state during summer where the implements were left in bad order. Of interest also to the visitors were the pictures in the hall and over the doors of the vaults: "Maidens with baskets of fruits, Fruitpieces and several convivial pieces, all emblematic of the Vine, from the Grape on to the Wine made from it."[25] It was while Giovanari and Faure were with General Vallejo that the suggestion of Colonel Haraszthy—the substitution of *cultivation* of the grapevine for irrigation—was used in Vallejo's vineyards. This increased the natural sugar of the grape and enhanced the flavor of the wine.

As to the "apparatus" whose condition the above visitors had commended: one of the stills used by Dr. Faure had been purchased by Vallejo in April 1849 from John A. Sutter's son for $400.[26] A little more than a year before, the general had written to John A. Sutter, Sr., asking if he had a still to sell. Sutter replied in the following letter[27] with the startling news – news which Sutter had asked others to keep secret.

New Helvetia
Feb. 10, 1848

Sr. Don Mariano G. Vallejo
Sonoma
Dear Sir:

I have received your letter of January 21st enquiring whether I could sell two stills. I regret to inform you that I have only one; the other that I had was not mine and I am about to use it, awaiting only the completion of the mill, which will not be long now.

My sawmill is already finished. All my other business is advancing rapidly and I have made the discovery of a gold mine which as far as we have investigated is extraordinarily rich. Hoping to be of service to you in every way possible and wishing you many happy years, I am

Your obedient servant,
JOHN A. SUTTER

To Genl M. G. Vallejo

In May 1860, while Vallejo was serving as mayor of Sonoma for the second time,[28] he planted 4,000 bearing grapevines and 10,000 cuttings. That year also he made 8,000 gallons of wine. His choice wines he exhibited at the Sonoma County fair in Petaluma, the northern district fair in Marysville, the Mechanics Fair in San Francisco, and the state fair in Sacramento. He carried off 20 premiums for the best red wine, the best white wine, best sparkling wine, best sherry wine, best brandy, and the best vinegar. It must have been with justifiable pride that he read the following letter.[29]

CALIFORNIA STATE AGRICULTURAL SOCIETY

Office Agricultural Hall
Cor. Sixth & M. Streets
Sacramento, Oct. 26, 1860

M. G. Vallejo, Esq.
Sonoma.

You were awarded the following Premiums at the State Fair.

1st	Premium	for	White	Wine 4 yrs old	$15.00
1st	"	"	"	" 3 " "	15.00
2nd	"	"	"	" 1 yr "	10.00
1st	"	"	Red	" 4 yrs "	15.00
2nd	"	"	"	" 3 " "	10.00
1st	"	"	"	" 2 " "	15.00
1st	"	"	Sparkling	"	15.00
					$95.00

for which I send you a Silver Pitcher which cost us that engraved. For exhibit of wines, number and varities, you were awarded a framed diploma – which is not yet completed by the designer but will in a few weeks be completed and forwarded to you. You were also awarded the 2nd premium for First Class Vineyard – 2 volumes Horey's Fruits of America.

I send you the Pitcher and the books this day by Wells Fargo & Co. Express and trust they will reach you in good order.

Respectfully yours, A. H. Ball
Rec. Sec. A. Soc.

At the ceremony of the planting of a redwood tree in honor of General Vallejo in the plaza of Sonoma on July 7, 1948, this silver pitcher was filled with water from Lachryma Montis, which was then sprinkled at the base of the new sapling. R. R. Emparan of Sonoma now owns the pitcher and has promised to present it later to the Vallejo Home State Historical Monument.

In the 1870's, east of the Lachryma Montis vineyard, was another vineyard planted on a section of land known as Quiquiriqui. This was the land which General Vallejo leased for 5 years to his sons, Uladislao, then aged 27, and Napoleon, then 23. They were "to keep accurate accounts, to harrow, cultivate and keep in good shape all the vineyard and orchard, trees, vines and shrubs thereon or may be planted."[30] At the time of the transaction, January 1, 1873, the general made the following memorandum:

The principle object of the sale of the vineyards to Uladislao and Napoleon is to give them a way of working to earn their living honestly and besides remuneration for their work. To rent the Cuartel (Barracks) giving to them for their use and profit for what they pay me ($40.00 a month) and also that they may live separate from the family.

That house is very large and has very good rooms in which to live and space or room for a good wine warehouse for its making, etc. with stables for the horses, etc. It has a very good well for water, pump, etc and a place to keep the tools and field implements. I made it easy for them to get work horses and harnesses. I helped them with 3,000 gallons of excellent wine to sell and with the money that they might get out of it, it may serve to help them begin their operations in the vineyards.

The old dwellers of Quiquiriqui paid for half of the products; Uladislao and Napoleon, only a fourth part and the taxes. The vineyard of Lachryma Montis was set for the third part of the net produce. The vineyards would produce with the rental of the fourth part, the cuartel (Barracks) from 500,000 to 700,000 pesos annually without putting myself to any expense whatever, working thus with my two sons, I separated them from my side by giving them an honest occupation and I would be left to care for my wife and the education of Luisa and Maria. With leisure the house at Lachryma Montis would not cost me much labor to

keep up and furthermore more time to go out and return and to visit relatives and friends.

Translated by Brother Henry of The Christian Brothers, Monte La Salle, Napa County.

The vineyard of Quiquiriqui was not a success, as a year later Uladislao and Napoleon were working for their father as bill collectors for his Sonoma water works, which supplied water from Vallejo's Lachryma Montis reservoir to the residents of Sonoma. In all fairness to the young men, they were faced in their vineyard with the necessity of combatting the dread root-disease of the grapevines—phylloxera. It made its first appearance in the Sonoma Valley in that year (1873), and due to the nature of the soil in the valley it spread rapidly underground, destroying nearly all the vineyards in that section. When General Vallejo paid his taxes in 1878, the tax receipt declared, "the land occupied in vineyard last year has been completely destroyed by Phylloxera."[31]

As to the general's consumption of his own product, the late Otto von Geldern, engineer, a nephew of the pioneer Sonoma physician, said that General Vallejo was abstemious in drinking, and that it was his custom to fill a goblet half of claret and half of water, which he drank with his meals. He delighted, as host at his table, to drink a toast to the ladies; but von Geldern said that it was impossible to imagine the general leaning against a bar, with his foot on a brass rail.

Charles A. Wetmore, in the November 1917 *Wholesalers & Retailers Review*, stated that in 1880 he and a number of other persons planted wine grapes near Livermore Valley, and the owners gave names to their vintages such as Mt. Rouge, Lomitas, Olivina, etc. Wetmore selected the name Ojo del Monte; but the difficulty of pronouncing Ojo (eye), correctly, caused him to reject it. However, it did suggest *tear*, so he baptized his vintage-child Lacryma Montis—the true Latin orthography for Tear of the Mountain. Shortly afterwards, Arpad Haraszthy, son-in-law of General Vallejo, told Wetmore that the general was going to give him a piece of his mind when he saw him, because he had stolen the name of his vineyard and his wine. This was a shock to Wetmore, who esteemed the general highly and thought it impossible that he himself could have invented a name that had been previously used. Haraszthy produced an old bottle, bearing the name Lachryma Montis, and explained that it was the translation of an Indian name, Chiucuyem, for the spring on Vallejo's home-place near Sonoma. Wetmore said he

saw for the first time what was probably the first wine label printed for California vintages. It was not then in use, but was claimed by General Vallejo, who is supposed to have said, "Lachryma Montis! Tell him to call his wine, Lachryma Pumpis." Wetmore mailed a letter of apology to the general, saying the mistake would be corrected. He then called his vintage Cresta Blanca, after the white magnesium scar on the mountain.

Colonel Haraszthy left Sonoma Valley for Nicaragua in 1868.[32] His leaving was a distinct loss to the valley. His treatise on grape culture and wine making, published by the state, gave the first impulse to the wine industry in California; also, credit for the importation of over 300 varieties of grapevines from Europe belongs to him. Five years after Haraszthy's departure, the scourge of phylloxera had eaten its way into Sonoma Valley, and an air of gloom settled over it. This was not removed until viticultural experts found that the roots of certain French-selected American varieties would resist the minute insect.

General Vallejo managed to plant 2 acres of his Lachryma Montis vineyard with new stock, but at his age (he was 71) he felt that his wine-making days were over. The liquid which was his chief interest now was the water from his Lachryma Montis spring, stored in the reservoir behind his house. However, in March 1883 he shipped several hundred boxes of grape cuttings to Mexico; some were for the governor of Chihuahua.[33] But on the whole he was content to rest on his laurels. As he sat by his fireside, he could, if he had wished, watch the flames highlight his silver trophies. There on the sideboard was the silver goblet, which had been given to him in 1854 for fine wine at the state fair. The silver berry spoon, engraved with grapes, lay nearby to remind him of his "best red wine" citation in 1858. Then there was the handsome silver water-pitcher, mentioned above, with the seal of the state of California.

The vineyards were gone, but there were grapes on the arbors of Lachryma Montis in abundance. The Tokays hung in heavy clusters from the arbor in front of the old Swiss storehouse. The little black-fruited Mission grape, the Sweetwater, Muscat, and Tokay mingled with the climbing roses on the pergola walkway which almost encircled the reservoir.

Today, the Tokay with its added years and girth—it is 24 inches in circumference—rests its trunk against the brick and timbered walls of the storehouse. Its branches climb up to the wrought-iron window-frames with their panes of ancient glass; while in September the weight

of even a single bunch of its fruit astonishes those who visit the Vallejo Home State Historical Monument, honoring a great vintner and a many-talented Californian.

NOTES

1. J. L. Ver Mehr, *Checkered Life in the Old and New World* (San Francisco, 1877), p. 470.

2. Willis Linn Jepson, *The Silva of California* (Berkeley: *Memoirs*, Univ. of Calif., 1910), vol. 2, p. 263, account of buckeye; same author's *Manual of the Flowering Plants of California* (Berkeley, 1923-25), p. 625, where climbing propensities of the wild grape, especially directed against the valley oak and the cottonwood, are described; illustrated, also, in plate 66 of his *Silva*. . . . Characteristic of the wild grape is the whitish coating or "bloom" on the purple berries (technically, glaucous).

3. Appraisal of Sonoma water works at Lachryma Montis by railroad commission.

4. *History of Sonoma County* (San Francisco, 1880), pp. 43-44, quoting Altimira's diary; H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886-90), II, 499 ff.

5. Original drawing and memo by Vallejo, Lachryma Montis Collection (hereafter referred to as "L. M. Col.").

6. Copy of O'Farrell's map, L. M. Col.

7. L. H. Bailey . . . Assisted by Many Expert Cultivators and Botanists, *Cyclopedia of American Horticulture* (New York, 1900), "Grapes on the Pacific Slope," by E. J. Wickson, vol. E-M, pp. 677-78. The Mission grape (which was *not* the California wild grape) has "never been fully identified," he says, "with any variety now grown in Europe, and whether the padres brought it to America in the form of seeds or cuttings is not known. . . ." Many have considered it a seedling, but Professor Wickson points out that 200 years ago it may well have been "an esteemed variety which was displaced in the course of viticultural progress by better varieties, and its survival at the California Missions is due to its isolation from that progress."

8. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, V, 757-58.

9. Deed, L. M. Col.

10. Vallejo memo, *ibid.*

11. Ver Mehr, as in note 1 above, p. 427.

12. Thomas Green to J. B. Frisbie, Sept. 26, 1850, Vallejo Documents, Bancroft Library (hereafter referred to as "Vallejo Docs."), vol. 13, pt. 2, p. 253.

13. Thomas G. White to Gen. Vallejo, Nov. 5, 1851, *ibid.*, pp. 371-72.

14. Lawrence Clark Powell, *Philosopher Pickett* (Univ. of Calif. Press, 1942), p. 38.

15. *Ibid.*, pp. 41-42.

16. C. A. Menefee, *Historical and Descriptive Sketch Book of Napa, Sonoma, Lake and Mendocino* (Napa City, 1873), p. 49.

17. Silver medal, Vallejo Museum, Sonoma.

18. Ver Mehr, *op. cit.*, p. 381.

19. Original memo, lease of Fitch house, L. M. Col.

20. Vallejo account book, 1855-56, L. M. Col.

21. Ver Mehr, *op. cit.*, p. 429.

22. *History of Sonoma County*, as in note 4 above, p. 458; Irving McKee, "Vallejo, Pioneer Sonoma Wine Grower," reprinted from *California Magazine of the Pacific*, Sept. 1948.

23. Vallejo memo, L. M. Col. His inventory for 1859 (Francisca Vallejo McGettigan Collection) lists, with their monetary values, the number of selected wines at Quiquiriqui; the number of newly planted vines; California vines; and cuttings; total value, $13,500.

24. "Residence of General Vallejo," *California Farmer*, 1861.

25. As to irrigation, Faure is quoted as stating that there would be no irrigation to the vines in 1861; "so we can look for some extra wines," the writer in the *Calif. Farmer* says. "Send it along Doctor, we well test it."

26. Sutter, Jr., to Vallejo, Apr. 23, 1849, Vallejo Docs., as in note 12 above. "For the whole apparatus," young Sutter wrote, "I will not charge you more than $400 because there might possibly be something not in very good order. . . ."

27. Sutter, Jr., to Vallejo, Feb. 10, 1848, Vallejo Docs.; translation by Fred A. Levy of San Francisco.

28. Congratulatory letter, Brooks to Vallejo, May 12, 1860, L. M. Col. (Vallejo was mayor of Sonoma first in 1852.)

29. A. H. Ball to Vallejo, Oct. 26, 1860, L. M. Col.

30. Lease, Vallejo to his sons, Jan. 1, 1873, *ibid.*

31. Tax receipt, March 1878, County of Sonoma, Vallejo Museum.

32. *History of Sonoma County, op. cit.*, p. 74.

33. Exchange of telegrams, variously dated, March 2-24, 1883, incl., between Vallejo; Mexican consul, El Paso, Texas; freight agent, San Francisco; L. M. Col.

The Progressive Voters League, 1923-26

By Russell M. Posner

On the morning of August 25, 1923, 20 Californians, mostly liberal Republicans, met in the assembly room of the Mills Building in San Francisco. Their purpose was to create a new political organization that would work for a liberal state legislature and oppose the conservative Republican governor, Friend W. Richardson. In a one-day session, this group set up a new association, the Progressive Voters League, that was to battle for political power in California for the next 3 years.[1]

In the 1920's, the Democratic party in California was small, weak and divided. Only a handful of the state senators and assemblymen were listed as Democrats. In 1922, the Democratic candidate for governor received less than 40% of the total vote. In both 1926 and 1930, the Democratic gubernatorial nominees failed even to get one-third of the vote. As a consequence, the struggle for political power in California was between the liberal and conservative wings of the dominant Republican party. Victory in the Republican primary was normally tantamount to election.

In the 12 years preceding 1923, the progressive Republican faction was dominant in California under the reform governors, Hiram Johnson and William D. Stephens. In 1922, however, a conservative Republican, Friend William Richardson (1865-1943), won the gubernatorial nomination. At the same time, conservative Republicans captured the state assembly and were close to a majority in the state senate—a conservative trend statewise, paralleled nationwise by the election of Warren G. Harding to the presidency in 1920.

During the campaign, Richardson, who held the position of state treasurer, promised the voters that he would institute a sweeping retrenchment in the state government if elected. Once in office, Richardson proceeded to carry out his campaign pledge of economy. He submitted to the legislature an economy budget which made drastic reductions in appropriations for education, labor boards, and humanitarian agencies. "The schools," he said, "must be put on a business basis. They must not only teach but practice thrift."[2] Richardson's budget director, Mrs. Nellie Pierce, said that the budget would eliminate "po-

litical parasites," put the "business of California on a business-like basis" and make the state spend a "perfectly cold-blooded dollar."[3]

Richardson's proposals met with tremendous opposition and a budget fight went on in the legislature for months. Business groups supported the executive budget, while organized labor, professional educators, and many newspapers denounced it. Progressive legislators viewed the budget as a completely reactionary document that reversed the liberal tendencies of the previous decade. One senator said of the budget reductions, "The Governor's policy to remove a corn is to cut off the foot!"[4] Liberal forces in the legislature were able to increase the allotments to some departments, and to continue, with small appropriations, certain agencies that Richardson had wanted to abolish. However, the budget did pass in final form substantially as Richardson desired.

Governor Richardson also used his veto power in the interests of conservatism and economy. In 1923, he actually vetoed nearly half of the bills submitted to him (including item vetoes of budget-appropriation items). Out of 890 bills, the governor signed 479 and rejected 411.

In addition, Richardson discharged or pressured out of office many department heads who had been appointed by Hiram Johnson and replaced them with more conservative individuals. One of Johnson's political lieutenants wrote of Richardson's activities: "There is no question but it is the knife to the hilt into Johnson's back, as far as the Administration in California is concerned."[5]

Progressive leaders in the legislature decided in the closing days of the 1923 session to form a new political organization, similar to the old Lincoln-Roosevelt League of 1910, to recapture the state government. To accomplish this purpose, 20 leading progressives met at the Mills Building in San Francisco, on August 25, 1923. Present were such prominent liberals as State Senator Herbert C. Jones of San Jose; Lieutent-Governor C. C. Young; the state superintendent of public instruction, Will C. Wood; the president of the state railroad commission, Clyde L. Seavey; and the progressive newspaperman and political analyst, Franklin Hichborn. Although a number of southern Californians were invited, only 1 attended. This was the superintendent of schools in Los Angeles, Mark Keppel. Senator Johnson was in Europe on a holiday trip. The group argued whether or not to defer organization until Johnson returned to California. The decision was to set up the association at once, since it was believed that Johnson was in complete sympathy with the purposes of the meeting.[6]

The name selected was the Progressive Voters League and its goals were "to restore, maintain, and promote a progressive state government and confine the work of the organization to state issues."[7]

It was provided that there would be a president, 6 vice-presidents, a secretary, a treasurer, and an executive committee of 18. The executive committee was to be appointed by the president. The north-south political division of the state was reflected in the league, since each end of the state was to have 3 vice-presidents and 9 committeemen. State Senator Herbert Jones was unanimously elected president of the league. State Senator Daniel Murphy of San Francisco was elected treasurer, and A. R. Heron of Sacramento was chosen as secretary. Charles L. Neumiller of Stockton, Mrs. Aaron Schloss of Berkeley, and Albert Boynton of Oroville were selected as vice-presidents representing the north. (Boynton declined to serve and was replaced by William J. Locke of Alameda.) The southern California positions in the league were left vacant for the time being. Before adjourning, committees were created to handle such matters as finance, publicity, local organizations, speeches, and proposed legislation.[8] Jones also issued a statement to the press: "All that has been accomplished in the past twelve years has been attacked and faces destruction. The time has come for progressives to act and to defend that which they have so dearly won."[9]

The new league acquired, as its headquarters, 2 small rooms (906 and 907) at the Flatiron Building in San Francisco. Secretaries were hired to work under the direction of Jones and the executive secretary, Assemblyman C. W. Cleary of Tulare (who replaced Heron). Office equipment was supplied from the real-estate firm of C. C. Young.[10]

On November 12, 1923, Jones, Young, and Hichborn went to Los Angeles to meet with southern progressives. Two days later, the southern branch of the league was formed under former State Senator W. J. Carr of Los Angeles. Carr became one of the 3 southern vice-presidents, along with Seth Brown and Mrs. Otto Zahn. The southern vacancies on the executive committee were filled, making the league at last statewide in scope.

The league tried to win over all progressives in the fight against Richardson. On its executive committee sat such notable liberals as Chester Rowell, Dr. John R. Haynes, Franklin Hichborn, C. C. Young, Will C. Wood, and Clyde Seavey. Jones issued a statement saying, "This League is organized independent of any party or faction, in the interest of a progressive state government and for no other purposes."[11]

Despite this assurance by Jones, a rival organization was created that threatened to divide the progressive movement.

A considerable number of California progressives had come to dislike their former leader, Hiram Johnson. Their loyalty was shaken by the senator's isolationism, by his support of high-tariff legislation, and by his tendency to quarrel with any supporter who disagreed with him. One of these liberal enemies of Johnson was the millionaire former congressman, William Kent. Kent, a supporter of the League of Nations, had sought the Republican senatorial nomination in 1920. He expected to get Johnson's support, but Johnson backed an anti-League of Nations conservative, Samuel Shortridge, who won. Kent never forgave Johnson for this repudiation. Noting that many of the leaders of the Progressive Voters League were friends of Johnson, Kent remarked that the league appeared to be "merely a criticism of Richardson and a reversion to the Holy Hiram."[12] Kent suspected that the league was controlled by Johnson and therefore decided to form a separate progressive group.

On November 17, 1923, a new progressive organization, the California Council of Progress, was launched by 36 people meeting at William Kent's home. The council was to work for a progressive legislature, public ownership of water-power, and "right international relations."[13]

From its inception, however, the council remained strictly a paper organization. Most of its members were also members of the league and continued to work with the latter group. The leaders of the league pleaded with Kent to drop the council. As pointed out by Hichborn in a letter to Kent, the top leadership in the league included both pro-Johnson and anti-Johnson progressives:

> We should not lose sight of the fact that the type of Californians who made the Lincoln-Roosevelt League possible are back of the Progressive Voters Movement. . . . It is not a Hiram movement. . . . It is not an anti-Hiram movement. I hope to see you in it with both fists.[14]

Finally, on May 15, 1924, Kent agreed to cooperate. The members of the council who were not affiliated with the league were requested to join the latter organization. Kent himself gave $300 to the league and promised more. The split was over.

What was the work of the league? In the first place it maintained correspondence with progressive leaders in every part of California. An examination of the Hichborn Papers reveals that at one time the organization had a mailing-list of 542 people in 40 counties, including 60 in

San Francisco, 80 in Los Angeles, 36 in Alameda County, and 5 in San Diego. The league also printed a semi-monthly news bulletin which was sent to members and to newspapers all over the state. The first issue of *News and Comment* appeared on October 24, 1923. On its third appearance, the paper was renamed *State Government and Finance* (Nov. 21, 1923). It attacked the governor under such headlines as "79 Million Budget Huge Financial Hoax" (Jan. 10, 1924), and "Richardsonism and Wreckage" (July 31, 1924). The league collected press-clippings on the state administration and made lists of friendly, hostile, and doubtful newspapers for the coming campaigns.[15]

On the average, the Progressive Voters League cost about $1,250 a month to operate and was based financially on a considerable number of moderate subscriptions plus occasional contributions.[16] About 90 people in 1924 were its chief financial backers. Top subscribers, Rudolph Spreckels and Dr. John R. Haynes, gave between $25 and $50 a month. The average monthly subscriptions ran between $5 and $10. Contributions were irregular and usually small, the largest single contribution being only $600.

The league from the start was plagued with 2 problems. One was financial. Although operated on the proverbial "shoestring," the organization was perpetually in debt. For example, in the week ending September 5, 1924, $583 was deposited, but $494 was paid out for telegrams, telephone calls, rent, secretarial salaries, addressing bureaus, and requisitions. This left a bank balance at the end of the week of $166.32, with outstanding and new bills totaling $541.49.[17] Its records are full of appeals written to potential subscribers and delinquent members. Another league difficulty was that most of its officers were engaged actively in other work. President Jones himself could give only 1 or 2 days a week. As a consequence, he was a week behind in his correspondence in December 1923, with the gap growing greater. He wrote to Young: "Our difficulty is that the work of directing and managing falls upon busy men who cannot devote to it the necessary consecutive time."[18] This situation was never adequately remedied.

The main purpose for creating the league was to elect a progressive legislature in the mid-term elections of 1924. With 20 senate and 80 assembly seats at stake, the league encouraged progressive legislators to stand for re-election and selected progressive candidates in the conservative districts. Assemblyman C. L. Cleary of Tulare, the league's executive secretary, was put in charge of the state campaign. Jones claimed

that in "at least 25 districts there would have been no progressive candidate except for our efforts."[19] The latter consisted partly in sending campaign literature to the various candidates, such as a form letter entitled, "Richardson Opposes Women in Legislature." Thousands of small pamphlets on taxation were also printed for distribution. Its fight against the governor was likewise furthered by a record number of forest fires, enabling the league to denounce the governor for cutting appropriations in the budget for fire protection; and a bad outbreak of hoof and mouth disease among livestock gave it the added opportunity to blame him for curtailing funds for the protection of plants and animals.

When Richardson, in an unprecedented move, decided to campaign personally in several Central Valley districts against well-known progressive legislators, the league went into action. A field representative, Col. R. B. Marshall (an authority in the field of water-power) was hired. His job was to follow the governor and speak to the valley farmers on behalf of the progressive cause. Marshall's stipend for 3 weeks' work was $750 plus expenses.[20] The campaign was an exciting one, with Richardson extolling his economy measures and denouncing the "progressive spendthrift league," while Marshall and other league speakers referred to "false economy" and "Richardson and Wreckage."

When the state primary election was held in August 1924, the progressives picked up about 10 seats in the lower house of the legislature, giving them a possible majority among the 80 members. They retained also a narrow senate majority. It was not clear whether the progressive gains were sufficient to organize the legislature, since some senators and assemblymen were claimed by both sides. Richardson's only consolation was the defeat of a few progressive legislators, including C. L. Cleary, the executive secretary of the league.

The leaders of the league had originally intended to terminate its activities after the 1924 campaign. The results of the election were so encouraging that they decided to keep it in business through the gubernatorial campaign of 1926. Members were notified that a skeleton organization was to be maintained throughout 1925 and the league publication was to be continued. Members would pay half their monthly dues until the 1926 campaign was actively under way. Then the league would exert the utmost efforts to elect a progressive as the next governor of California.[21]

The year 1925 marked a breathing spell, as both progressives and

conservatives looked ahead to the gubernatorial contest of 1926. In the state legislature, the conservative speaker of the assembly, Frank F. Merriam, was re-elected over the progressive candidate, Isaac Jones, by the exceedingly narrow margin of 40 to 39. The legislature was actually so evenly divided that Richardson attempted little in the way of further conservative proposals. The governor did not run the risk of another great budget fight. His 1925 budget provided substantial increases in appropriations for education and for humanitarian and social agencies. However, Richardson still exercised his veto rights to prevent the enactment of progressive measures. In 1925, he vetoed more bills than he signed, a performance probably without parallel in the history of the state. Out of 999 bills reaching his desk, Richardson signed 480 and rejected 519.

The main problem for the league in 1925 was to select a dynamic candidate who could win the governorship. There were two leading possibilities for the state's highest office. One was Clement Calhoun ("C. C.") Young (1869-1947), the lieutenant governor of California. The other was William Christopher ("Will C.") Wood (1880-1939), the state superintendent of public instruction. Both men were sincere progressives and hard-working members of the league.

Young, a former schoolteacher and realtor, had served in the state assembly for 10 years, the last 6 of which he was speaker. He was then twice overwhelmingly elected to the position of lieutenant-governor. Young had always strongly supported liberal legislation and was a backer of Hiram Johnson.

Wood, a professional educator, had served for 8 years with brilliant success as the state superintendent of public instruction. When Richardson tried to reduce school appropriations in the interests of economy, Wood fought him in the press, in public speeches, and in legal actions. The governor was beaten and all the educational cuts were eventually restored. This duel with Richardson brought Wood to the attention of the general public as a forceful personality. He was an ardent supporter of Senator Johnson and a charter member of the league.

For a long time, neither Wood nor Young formally declared his candidacy, since a premature announcement might injure chances for success. However, both aspired to the governorship. If both ran, they would divide the progressive vote and Richardson probably would be re-elected. Thus, the Progressive Voters League was faced with the

troublesome problem of selecting one and persuading the other to withdraw. A majority of the members favored Young because of his greater political experience, but a strong minority backed Wood. Hichborn in July 1925 expressed the dilemma thus: "We have the problem of Young and Wood on our hands. It is difficult to say what should be done.... If it were within my power to settle the question, which thank heavens it is not, I would refuse to take the responsibility."[22]

The issue finally came to a head in October 1925, when the progressives were warned that Mayor George E. Cryer of Los Angeles might enter the race, further complicating the situation. An emergency meeting of the league leaders was held in San Francisco. Present were Young, Jones, Senator Inman of Sacramento, and Hichborn. Young was urged by the others to make a public announcement of his intention to run. This would block out a possible Cryer candidacy. Young hesitated, but was persuaded. The statement was issued to the press on October 11, 1925.[23]

Wood was bitter at Young's announcement and threatened to enter the race. He told Rowell: "I stand ready to demonstrate . . . that my strength already actively committed to me is much greater than any strength he [Young] can show.... I should be the candidate to receive united progressive support."[24] Tremendous pressure was placed on Wood not to disrupt the progressive movement by a separate candidacy. Finally, he withdrew and endorsed Young, urging all progressives to work for the latter's election.[25] (After Young's victory, Wood was appointed the state superintendent of banks by the new governor.)

In the spring of 1926, progressive strength began to solidify behind Young's candidacy. Other potential candidates dropped out of the race. Young received the backing of organized labor, the Republican city machines in San Francisco and Los Angeles, and a large number of California newspapers including the Hearst chain and the McClatchy papers in the interior valleys. A. P. Giannini's Bank of Italy, engaged in a quarrel over branch-banking with Governor Richardson, also backed Young.

In March 1926, Herbert Jones retired as president of the Progressive Voters League after 2½ years of service. He wanted to devote his full time to a tough primary fight in his senatorial district. Jones was succeeded by a staunch Young supporter, J. M. ("Jack") Inman, state senator from Sacramento. Inman pledged that the league would work wholeheartedly for Young's election and would fight "tooth and toenail against Richardsonism."[26]

The campaign between Young and Richardson was close and hard fought. The progressive speakers vigorously attacked the governor as the tool of special-interest groups. They held his economy measures to be false, detrimental, and reactionary. Despite these charges, Richardson's chances of winning appeared good. He had the support of business groups, part of the rural press, and some influential newspapers including the Los Angeles *Times* and the San Francisco *Chronicle*. The politically conservative temper of the mid-1920's (the Coolidge era) was a factor in the governor's favor. Richardson was portrayed by his supporters as standing for "law and order," "efficiency in government," and "economy," all popular phrases in California. His backers pointed with pride to the $15,000,000 surplus in the state treasury, which was attributed by them to the governor's economy measures.

The final weeks of the campaign witnessed a sharp rise in the fortunes of the Young campaign. Hiram Johnson returned to the state in the closing days of the contest and made a number of fiery but effective speeches, belaboring Richardson and praising Young. In his typical fashion, Johnson was merciless to the opposition. He said of one Richardson appointee: "He is a stench in the nostrils of the good people of California."[27] In supporting Young, Johnson told the electorate: "It is the age-old fight. We must give the government back to the people."[28] In addition, the employees of the Bank of Italy, in all parts of the state, campaigned vigorously for Young in the last week of the campaign.[29]

The Republican primary was held on August 31, 1926. The progressives won a narrow but decisive victory. They captured the gubernatorial nomination for Young and gained a majority in both houses of the legislature. In a light turnout, Young defeated the governor by a bare 15,272 votes. He received 327,596 votes to 312,324 for Richardson. The contest was so close that it was difficult to say which factor (the backing of the league, the speeches of Johnson, or the efforts of the Bank of Italy) was most responsible for Young's election.

The progressive forces were jubilant at the victory. Hichborn wrote to Dr. John R. Haynes that Young's success "demonstrated that the tremendously potent machine which the corporations have built up since 1915 can be beaten."[30] With the election won, the Progressive Voters League wound up its business affairs and was dissolved by the end of 1926.

The Progressive Voters League in its 3 years of life accomplished its stated purposes. The victory was however only a temporary one. In

1930, Young was defeated for renomination, and the conservative wing of the Republican party returned to office under governors James Rolph, Jr., and Frank F. Merriam. Still, the 1926 triumph was a solid achievement, since it was the only time in the 20 years between 1922 and Earl Warren's victory in 1942 that a liberal Republican won the Republican gubernatorial nomination in the primary elections.

NOTES

1. This article is largely based on material from the following sources: the Herbert C. Jones Papers, Stanford Univ.; the Franklin Hichborn and John R. Haynes Papers, Univ. Calif., Los Angeles; the Chester Rowell Papers, Univ. Calif.; the William Kent Papers, Yale Univ. The Jones Papers and the Hichborn Papers are particularly informative on the Progressive Voters League.

2. San Francisco *Chronicle*, Feb. 2, 1923.

3. *Trans., Commonwealth Club of Calif.*, "The Governor's First Budget," XVIII (Feb. 1923), 7-13, statement of Mrs. Pierce.

4. State Senator C. H. Lewis, "Highlights in the Budget," a mimeographed statement (Sacramento: March 1923). Copy in the Jones Papers.

5. Meyer Lissner to Chester Rowell, Jan. 12, 1924, Rowell Papers.

6. Egerton Shore to W. B. Mathews, Aug. 28, 1923, copy in the Jones Papers. Hiram Johnson had been the Lincoln-Roosevelt League's candidate in 1910, when it campaigned against boss rule and monopoly.

7. Herbert C. Jones to Simon Lubin, Sept. 6, 1923, Jones Papers.

8. Minutes of the First Meeting of the Progressive Voters League, Aug. 25, 1923, Jones Papers.

9. San Francisco *Examiner*, Aug. 26, 1923.

10. C. C. Young to Herbert C. Jones, Sept. 13, 1923, Jones Papers.

11. Public statement of Herbert C. Jones, president of the Progressive Voters League (mimeographed, Aug. 29, 1923), Jones Papers.

12. William Kent to Franklin Hichborn, Oct. 25, 1923, Kent Papers.

13. Statement of Principle and Politics, California Council of Progress (mimeographed, 1923), Kent Papers.

14. Franklin Hichborn to William Kent, Oct. 26, 1923, Kent Papers. Attorneys, business men, educators, journalists, professional politicians were prominent in league ranks.

15. There are newspaper lists and copies of the publication in the Hichborn Papers.

16. Herbert C. Jones to James Phelan, Feb. 13, 1924, Jones Papers.

17. The Jones Papers contain the weekly statements of receipts and expenditures of the league.

18. Herbert C. Jones to C. C. Young, Dec. 8, 1923, Jones Papers.

19. Herbert C. Jones to Harry Encell, July 23, 1924, *ibid.*

20. Herbert C. Jones to Col. R. B. Marshall, Aug. 4, 1923, *ibid.*

21. Herbert C. Jones to Rudolph Spreckels, Dec. 9, 1924, *ibid.*

22. Franklin Hichborn to John R. Haynes, July 15, 1925, Haynes Papers.

23. There is an account of this meeting in Franklin Hichborn's unpublished work, "California Politics, 1891-1939" (typescript: 1949), v. 4, p. 2307. Copy at the Haynes Foundation, Los Angeles.

24. Quoted in Chester Rowell to C. C. Young, Jan. 26, 1926, Rowell Papers.

25. For example, Wood statement in San Francisco *Examiner*, Aug. 9, 1926.

26. San Francisco *Chronicle*, March 9, 1926.

27. San Francisco *Examiner*, Aug. 17, 1926.

28. San Francisco *Chronicle*, July 31, 1926.

29. There is an account of this effort in Marquis James and Bessie R. James, *Biography of a Bank: The Story of Bank of America, N.T.&S.A.* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1954), pp. 182-184.

30. Franklin Hichborn to John R. Haynes, Sept. 4, 1926, Haynes Papers.

Driving the Last Spike

At Promontory, 1869

By J. N. Bowman

(Concluded)

The Date of Ceremony. By May 1 the Central Pacific* had reached its junction point and awaited the building of the last few miles of the Union Pacific which had flood, rock and bridge difficulties in getting into the basin. The date of the junction was set for May 8, but 2 days before this date new troubles arose for the Union Pacific at Piedmont where the car in which Dr. T. C. Durant, the vice-president, was riding was disconnected from the train and shunted onto a side line by some 400 workers (one reporter says 500) who demanded their pay, unpaid since January 1, and threatened the life of Durant and of the operator who sent Durant's wire for the money, if he, the operator, should wire for soldiers instead. The next day the $80,000 requested by Durant arrived, the men were paid and Durant released. So the ceremony was postponed to Monday May 10. Stanford and his group had arrived on May 8; the Union Pacific people kindly arranged to take those who cared to accept the offer, to Ogden during the delay. It was at Ogden that the reporters collected much of their data and copies of the prayer and speeches to be given on the 10th. During this waiting period the Union Pacific completed their line to within one rail length of the western line, built a siding and also a "Y."[12]

Hour of the Driving of the Last Spike. In the absence of present-day time zones and of the synchronizing of time pieces, some question arises as to the hour of driving the last spike. At Promontory it appears to have been about 12:45; in Virginia City it was 12:30; in Cheyenne it was 1:53; in San Francisco "precisely" 11:46, and another reporter gave it as 11:44:37 a.m.; in Washington, D. C. it was 2:47 when "done" was received. The slight difference is no doubt due to the lack of time-piece regulation.[13]

*Today's Southern Pacific.

Attendance. The dispatches of the reporters show a wide divergence as to the number of people present—from 500 to 3,000, with 30,000 expected. Study of the photographs taken at the time indicates between 500 or 600 as the probable number in attendance.

The bulk of the Chinese and other workers who had completed the line by May 1 had been shunted westward to improve certain points of the line, leaving only a few, perhaps a dozen, to do the grading, lay the ties and drive the few spikes of the west rail, lay the east rail for the ceremony, and replace the laurel tie. The bulk of the Union Pacific workmen had also been shunted to eastern points for line improvement.

At Ogden the reporters learned that the U. S. 21st infantry was on its way to the San Francisco presidio. They reported 5 companies, a surgeon, and a quartermaster, and also a few cavalry officers; one reporter gave the number of soldiers as 352, and another as 500. The implication is that all of these men were present at the ceremony of driving the last spike on May 10. One reporter, however, mentions only part of the regiment as arriving at the scene in time for the driving, and this is in keeping with the number of men that can be estimated from the photographs. If all were present, which is very doubtful, only about 3 companies were on parade for the photograph. The only company which can be identified as having been present is Company K.

The number of women present also varies among the reporters—from 1 to 20. From the lists of the reporters, 21 can be identified by name. The photograph shows only 2, perhaps 3. Most of the women were the wives of officers or visitors, a few were unmarried, and four were young girls.

Two persons present indicated the closing of one period of transportation and the opening of a new one. S. V. Geltz and J. B. Kenny, Wells Fargo stage drivers, drove their last runs on their routes, the latter after 12 years of service, and the former with 8.[14]

Decorations. Many of the reporters speak of the bunting and decorations on the engines, coaches, and tents, and that when the engines "nosed" over the laurel tie they were joined by ribbons. A study of the photographs indicates no decorations of any kind in evidence, especially none on the engines. Only one reporter mentions a detail—that F. L. Van Denburgh raised the national emblem (on the telegraph pole near the junction) at 7 a.m.[15]

The Point Where Construction Ended and Maintenance Began. The logical point would seem to be when the engines passed over the joint

as indicating its use for traffic, and one reporter evidently had this in mind when he wrote that "the locomotives in turn crossed over the magic tie and the union was consumated forever." But the question arises as to the replacement of the laurel tie with a regular one and spiked for the regular traffic. Maintenance implies replacements and repairs necessitated by regular use; the replacement of the laurel tie was still part of the construction-completion ceremony and its replacement was not due to impairment by traffic use. It seems reasonable to take this replacement as the end of the construction, or the last of the several replacements before regular traffic began near 5 o'clock when the Central Pacific train passed over it, in order to use the Union Pacific Y and begin its return to Sacramento. The number of replacements is not known, but the inference from the reports is that there were more than one. Each replacement meant the new driving of the last spikes, and no doubt this was done by some unknown son of Han.

The question of completion was later raised by the Union Pacific, as it was related to the company's reception of federal subsidies and the payment of 5% interest on its net earnings until the bonds were repaid. In 1879 the U. S. supreme court decided for November 6, 1869, as the date of completion. The completion for legal and financial reasons does not affect the celebration of the completion of the tracks for traffic between the east and the west.[16]

The Site. Promontory, also called at that time Promontory Summit, Promontory Point, and Promontory Station, was a plateau in the Promontory Mountains just north of where the range projects southward into Salt Lake. The reporters describe the basin as about 10 miles in diameter (one reporter says 3) and surrounded on 3 sides with peaks, covered with sage brush and grass, and without water which on that day had to be transported 8 miles to the point of celebration. The track ran from SW to NE through the basin and fairly close to the eastern edge; and the rails for the celebration, judging from the shadows on the photograph taken at noon, ran almost due north and south. The day was sunny with a few clouds and a slight breeze; the temperature was 69° in the shade of the Central Pacific telegraph car. By the time of the celebration, about 20 tents and shacks had been erected on both sides of the track but most of them on the west side. Both roads had laid switches; the Union Pacific had also laid a Y, and on the 10th each road had at least 2 engines and their coaches.

The junction point was the highest point of the road in the basin and

was about 3½ miles eastward of the end of the 10-mile-and-58-feet track laid by the Chinese in 1 day of about 12 hours, and was also a few miles south and west of the northernmost point reached by the road between Omaha and Sacramento. At the junction point the ground was quite level, especially beyond the west rail, while on the east side the photograph shows a drop of about 3 feet perhaps made by the grading.

Since the general course of the roads was east and west, the reporters at the junction referred to the north and south sides of the tracks without observing the position of the sun or its shadows cast.[17]

The Stage Setting. From the photographs and the statements of a few reporters, it may be inferred that the level ground, westward of the west rail, used by the soldiers while at parade-rest and beyond whom were the tents and shacks, formed the back-stage setting for the celebration; and the slight drop from the east rail was the part held open for spectators and photographers. This would imply that the east rail was the center of the scene, while nearby were the telegrapher's table and key so as to give him an unobstructed view of the driving of the last spike which he could broadcast over his wires. This east side of the rail and the east end of the ties would be the place of honor for the driving of the ceremonial last spike and the dropping of the gold spike (Hewes) into the laurel tie. It would be here that Stanford and Durant stood on opposite sides of the tie dividing the two roads and probably on the same, outside, side of the rail.

A photograph shows this east rail to have been without spikes and fishplates, with the end of the loose rail about 1½ inches below the end of the Union Pacific rail. It is below this joint that the photograph shows the open space for the laurel tie; from another photograph it is seen that the corresponding joint on the west rail is over the next and adjoining west tie.

Driving the Last Spike. Consideration may now be directed to reconstructing the actual "driving" of the gold spike and the last spike, reliance being placed on the dispatches of that day and on the statements written long afterwards by persons present. A determining factor in this reconstruction is the recorded times of the telegrapher's signals during the broadcast.

No program or arrangements had been made for the celebration on either the 8th or the 10th; only two things seem to have been previously determined: the Western Union broadcast of the blows and that this should be at noon. As already noted and for the reasons given, a post-

ponement of 2 days had been made. The rivalry of the roads was well known—to the extent that in their building they overlapped parallel tracks some 200 miles before a junction point could be agreed upon and settled by congress. It was reported that Edgar Mills for the Central Pacific and General Dodge of the Union Pacific conferred for over an hour and a half on the 10th in a vain attempt to agree on a joint program, Dodge insisting on having his own, separate celebration of driving the last spike. The impass was broken by Stanford and Durant, highest ranking officials of the 2 lines, about five minutes before the ceremony began. This delay did not interfere with the wiring of the sledge and spike and the preparation for the broadcasting of the blows.[18]

In spite of differences among the reporters as to the events themselves and esepcially as to their sequence, the central activity seems to have been the "driving" of the gold and last spikes, the laying of the last rail and placing of the last tie having been preparatory thereto. The central events must then extend from the prayer to the "done" at the last blow, the time of each event being checked by the Washington records of the broadcast: 2:20, 2:27, 2:40, and 2:47.

At about 10:30 the Chinese began the final grading for the last 2 rails, the laying of the ties and rails, the driving of the spikes, and the bolting of the fishplates of the west rail. The last and east ceremonial rail no doubt was bolted at its south end, and perhaps a few spikes were driven near this junction. Also, since the visitors were to "drive" a last iron spike and, as amateurs, they would have had difficulty in starting the spikes, it is quite likely that the Chinese started a number of the iron spikes, as Bowsher stated that the last spike was partly driven for Stanford and Durant. Several reports record the enjoyment of the crowd at the attempts of the visitors to drive their spikes. Near noon this work was finished and the officials of both roads had arrived from the east and the west. The engines, uncoupled from their coaches, were run within a short distance of the ends of their respective rails; the soldiers detrained and marched to the west side of the track where they stood at parade-rest to observe the events and to serve as a background for the stage setting—or at least they were so placed for the photographs. The broadcast wiring had been completed and the table and key for the telegraph operator had been placed at an advantageous point in front and east of the joint. The visitors had collected on all sides of the track and on the engines to the extent that the congestion was especially mentioned by one reporter.

At about noon the stage was fairly well set, but to eliminate the congestion Jack Casement of the Union Pacific asked the crowd to withdraw from the rails so that all could see the ceremony, and, to aid in this retirement, the engines advanced closer to the rail ends. At 12:20 the operator notified the Western Union system that in about 20 minutes the last spike would be driven and that all wires should be kept clear. Casement again asked the crowd to retire somewhat for the better observation of all and to enable the photographers to take their pictures. J. H. Strobridge of the Central Pacific and S. B. Reed of the Union Pacific, both general superintendents of their respective lines, carried the laurel tie, the former holding the west end and Reed the east end, and from the east side of the east and last rail they placed it in its position under the final joint.

The central actors then took their places. Mills, who acted as master of ceremony, called the group to order, and introduced the Rev. J. Todd from Massachusetts for the invocation, which took about 2 minutes. At this point, at 12:27, the operator told the system that 3 dots would indicate the first blow and "done" the last blow, and "hats off" during the prayer. During the next 13 minutes the following events must have taken place: the ceremonial driving of the last iron spikes by H. Nottingham of the Michigan Southern & Lake Shore R.R., by W. Sherman of San Francisco and other participants, and finally by Commissioner J. W. Haines of Nevada, who also bolted the last fishplates; then came the adjustment of the laurel and other ties and their tamping after the alignment. At 12:40 the operator answered a question from the east that "we have done praying. The spike is about to be presented." In the next 7 minutes the central events occurred. Dr. W. H. Harkness in a short talk presented the Hewes gold spike to Durant who "placed it in the auger hole prepared for it," no doubt on the outside of the east rail. No doubt also Harkness presented Durant with the second gold spike for its hole on the inside of the rail, but no reporter recorded this probable fact. Gov. F. A. Tritle of Nevada presented, with a few words, the silver spike to Stanford, who supposedly placed it in another auger hole in the laurel tie at the west rail; and Gov. A. P. K. Safford in like manner presented his ceremonial spike of iron, silver and gold, in the name of Arizona Territory, and also no doubt handed it to Stanford who similarly placed it in the last of the holes in the ceremonial tie. In about 2 ½ minutes Stanford made his response on the acceptance of the spikes and concluded with "Now, gentlemen, with your assistance we

will procede to lay the last tie, the last rail, and drive the last spike." This speech was quite evidently written in Sacramento and distributed to the reporters between the 8th and 10th, and so was not quite in keeping with the fact that the last rail and tie were already in place and the gold "last" spike already "driven."

In these 7 minutes there would only be time for the driving of the last spike – the gold one had already been placed in its auger hole. On behalf of the Union Pacific, General Dodge made a much shorter response in place of Dr. Durant, who had a severe headache and after the last blow retired to his sleeper. Mills made a few remarks, followed by L. W. Coe, of the Pacific Express Co., who in a very few words presented the silver sledge to Stanford. Time would not have permitted the wiring of this sledge and the gold spike after these presentations, as is generally reported in the dispatches and stories of the reporters. Stanford may have given the gold spike or other spikes token touches with the silver sledge, but for the last spike he used the regular and wired maul, standing on the south side of the laurel tie, and no doubt on the outside of the rail, while Durant stood on the north side of the tie and also on the outside of the rail.

It is reasonable to infer that the last spike was 1 only and served both roads, and that Stanford alone used the wired sledge. If the 2 officials stood on opposite sides of the rail, the heads of the silver or regular sledges were of such length that the spike could have been driven across the 3¼ inch rail. Perhaps at about 12:45 the operator wired "all ready now," and, after a short pause, the 3 dots for the first blow went over the wires from coast to coast, followed by a single dot for each blow until at 12:47 "done" went out for the final blow. Stanford and Durant both missed the spike at the first blow, so the wired sledge did not work; but W. N. Skilling, the Union Pacific operator at the key, performed the task of sending the 3 dots for the first blow and one for the missed blow of Durant. Whether the final driving home of the spike was done with the wired sledge or not is not known, but probably not, and the operator would have performed his task of noting the blows on the wires. The number of blows driven is unknown; yet a San Francisco paper in a local item mentions 9, without indicating the source of the data. That number may have been correct, but surely not a larger number. Stanford and Durant gave the light token and ceremonial blows; the driving home of the spike was done by general superintendents Strobridge and Reed, but which one gave the actual last blow for the "done" is unknown.[19]

With the last blow there no doubt were cheers, but how many and how they fitted into the other activities are unknown. The crowd was again asked to retire so that the 3 official photographers could take their pictures. The engines advanced and "nosed" over the laurel tie, the engineers and other persons on the pilots joined hands and also broke a bottle of champagne – some say it was wine – over the tie as a christening, and pictures were taken of the "nosed" engines. One reporter indicated that Stanford and Durant stood on the pilots of the two engines and joined hands for the photographers; this, however, may be questioned. Cheers now or during this period were lustily given for the new road, for both lines, for the officers and directors of each system, for the workmen, the flag, for the President in Washington, for the ladies, and no doubt for other persons and things.

Two more ceremonies remained: the ceremonial driving of the spikes by the military officers and the ladies, and the engines crossing over the joint. Mrs. Strobridge is mentioned by name as having given a token blow on 1 of the silver spikes. The Nevada spike in the Stanford museum shows no evidence of blows on its head; the spike she struck may have been that of Arizona if it was a real blow that she gave. Mrs. Currier and perhaps other ladies also participated in this part of the ceremony.

For the military participation, the diary of Lt. J. C. Currier of Co. K was found by Miss Irene Simpson of the Wells Fargo history room in 1954 in the possession of Mrs. Harriet Currier Hale (daughter of the Lt.) of San Mateo, California, and now of Massachusetts. That portion of the diary concerning May 10 is as follows:

> We have just witnessed the laying of the last rail. Crowds began assemblying at 7 a.m. There were several thousands present and ceremonies were opened with a prayer by a minister from Mass. A covered wood tie, beautifully polished and appropriately engraved was then brought out and placed in position by the highest officials of each R.R. A spike of gold was then produced with a silver hammer. A telegraph wire was attached to the spike – at a given signal, one, two, three strokes were made with the silver hammer. The telegraph wires were so arranged that the taps were flashed to all parts of the U. S. so that eager thousands in all the great cities knew the rail was laid and the R.R. complete. Truly it was worth the trip from New Hampshire alone to see this great achievement. Two beautifully decorated engines, one of each road advanced until the guards touched – the engineers climbed out and broke a bottle of champagne across the space and shook hands. Nattie [Mrs. Currier] and I were permitted to give a stroke – I used my sword hilt. Our regiment marched up and stood at Parade rest while our pictures were taken, then our regimental band played.

A few days later the regiment arrived at the San Francisco Presidio.[20]

The lieutenant and the other officers used their sword hilts in giving their ceremonial blows to the ceremonial spikes; 5, perhaps, 6 blows of different strengths struck the gold spike (the Hewes) sufficiently hard to leave marks on the head. Doubts have been raised as to whether sword hilts were of such construction and their weight sufficient to make the indentations now seen on the gold spike. The Smithsonian Institution has army swords of that year with tangs protruding beyond the hilts, and their weight is quite similar to that found necessary to make similar indentations in gold bullion by the superintendent of the U. S. mint in San Francisco.[21]

The present Southern Pacific and Union Pacific officials have no knowledge of any instrument in use in 1869 which could have made the present indentations on the gold spike.

The concluding ceremony was the crossing over of the joint by the 2 engines. The Central Pacific Jupiter backed up from the "nosed" position and the Union Pacific engine No. 119 crossed over the junction and returned to its side while Jupiter made its crossing, thus symbolizing the completion of the construction for the traffic between the east and the west.[22]

In the meantime, telegrams were sent by Stanford and Durant to President Grant and many wires were received from various persons and states.

After the crossing by the engines, the ceremonial spikes were lifted from their auger holes in the laurel tie and the tie itself removed and replaced with a regular tie, tamped, and spiked with regular spikes, one of which was retrieved by David Lemon. The gold (Hewes) spike and the silver hammer were taken by Stanford, and the second gold spike was given to General Dodge. The Nevada silver spike was given to G. T. Gage who took it back to that state, and the Arizona Territory spike evidently was given to Governor Safford. The tie was returned to California and placed in the Sacramento shop.

The replaced tie was quickly reduced to souvenirs by the visitors and a replacement with a new tie and last spikes became necessary. Some reporters mention further replacements in the wake of the souvenir hunters, that the Chinese also cut part of a tie into mementos, and also that even the last rail was broken up into relics by the soldiers. At least one replacement could be expected and perhaps a second. Who drove the last spike on the last replacement is unknown – possibly it was one of the Chinese workmen.

After the formal ceremonial, the Central Pacific officials joined the Union Pacific group in the latter's car for a series of toasts; and one reporter stated that Strobridge gave a dinner in his car to the Chinese workmen and foreman in honor of their feat in building the road in record time.[23]

By 5 o'clock the higher officials of both roads had departed for the east and the west.

Such is the possible reconstruction of the events and their sequence based on the statements of those present, on photographs taken at the time, on an analysis of the probability of occurrences and their order of occurrence, and especially on the broadcast time-schedule of the Western Union office in Washington.

Conclusion. The gold (Hewes) spike was dropped into an auger hole, it was not driven; it was the first of the 4 "last" ceremonial spikes and was not the last spike driven; it was not wired for the broadcast; and the markings on its head were not made by the silver sledge or any sledge but by the tangs of the military sword hilts. There was a second gold spike from California, but what became of it after its presentation to Dodge is unknown. All the ceremonial spikes were dropped into prepared holes, none were driven. The markings on the head of the Nevada silver spike could not have been made by a sledge and what made the present pinpricks on its head is unknown. The silver sledge is silver plated and was used only for ceremonial purposes—perhaps only to touch with token blows 1, several, or all of the ceremonial spikes; it was not wired for broadcasting and shows no evidence of blows struck. The Lemon spike did not make the hole for the gold spike and was not redriven into the laurel tie; it no doubt was one of the 4 spikes driven in the tie which replaced the laurel tie, and probably occupied in it the same position that the gold spike occupied in the laurel tie. Stanford and Durant did not "drive home" the last spike; they gave the first and second, perhaps also the third and fourth blows which actually touched the last spike; the blow for "done" of the broadcast was given by either Strobridge or Reed. The last spike driven was of iron and was wired to the Union Pacific telegraph line, as the regular sledge used by Stanford was wired to the Central Pacific wire. The laurel tie with the ceremonial spikes was removed after the crossing by the engines and was replaced by a standard tie with regular iron spikes. Who drove the last of the replacement spikes is not known but probably it was one of the Chinese workmen.

The reports of the day that the gold spike was the last, that it was wired and was driven with the silver sledge which was wired, became a tradition at once, apparently because of the widespread buildup in the papers and the crowded condition of the onlookers which prevented observation of the events and their sequence; even Dodge and Dillon, whose high official standing would have entitled them to an advantageous observation point, accepted the tradition in their stories written long afterwards.

There are still a number of problems connected with the events of that day to be analyzed from the conflicting statements of those present.

NOTES

12. It would appear that the Union Pacific officials did not wish the Piedmont affair to be generally known, but the reporters released the story. *Alta*, May 10; *Bull.*, May 10; *Chron.*, May 11; *Exam.*, May 12; *Herald*, May 10; *Times*, May 10; *Union*, May 11; *Rocky Mt. News*, May 7; Sacramento *Record*, May 11.

13. *Alta*, May 11, 19, and 25; *Bull.*, May 10 and 21; *Chron.*, May 11 (giving the first blow as of 11:44:37 a.m.); *Exam.*, May 12; *Figaro* (San Francisco), May 11; *Enterprise*, May 11; Savage's Diary, May 4, 11; Eicholtz's diary, May 10, with his watch still set to eastern time; *Leslie's*, June 5, p. 19; *Scribner's*, Aug. 1892, p. 258; *Rocky Mt. News*, May 10.

14. *Alta*, May 11 and 12; *Bull.*, May 10 and 13; *Chron.*, May 11 and 12; *Exam.*, May 11; *Herald*, May 12; *Times*, May 11 and 12; *State Capitol Reporter*, May 14; *Enterprise*, May 12; *Union*, May 11; *Southern Pacific Bulletin*, May 1926; *Overland*, *op. cit.*, p. 83.

15. *Enterprise*, May 12.

16. *Ibid.*; 99 *U. S. Reports*, 402 ff; 25 *Law Ed.*, 274 ff, 287 ff.

17. *Alta*, May 12; *Arizona Miner*, June 5; *Bee*, May 13; *Bull.*, May 3, 5, and 7; *Chron.*, May 11; *Deseret News*, May 19; *Exam.*, May 8 and 11; *Herald*, May 10 and 13; *Enterprise*, May 12; *Times*, May 11; *Union*, May 5; *Utah Reporter*, May 12; *Leslie's*, June 5, p. 23; *Scribner's*, see note 13. Yet Dodge, writing long afterwards, says "it was a bright but cold day." There is also some difference among the reporters as to the distance between the engines—90 to 120 ft., or 2 rail lengths; this difference may have been due to the different positions taken by the engines at different times during the ceremony. The rails were 28 and 30 ft. long and 3¼ in. high, and the ties were laid 2400 per mile on the plains and 2500 and 2640 in the mountains. In the photograph, about 24 ft. of the last rail can be seen.

18. *Alta*, May 10; *Bull.*, May 13; *State Capitol Reporter*, May 14; *Times*, May 11; *Utah Reporter*, May 12. Dillon in *Scribner's*, Aug. 1892, stated that the arrangements were made on very short notice. The last rails for the ceremony were really those of the Central Pacific. It is only by rare chance that both or even one of the stock rails would be of the proper length and require no cutting or boring for holes for the fishplates. The witnesses state that Stanford and Durant stood opposite to each other, but they differ as to whether they stood on the west (north) or east (south) side of the rail, and only one reporter speaks of their being on opposite sides of the tie. Questioned also must be the family tradition that Dr. John B. Campbell was "the one who actually drove the Gold Spike while his bosom friend Mr. Leland Stanford made the speech" (letter of June 22, 1950, from his daughter, Mrs. Blanche Salter, of Clearfield, Utah, to Miss Irene Simpson).

19. *Bee*, May 13; *Chron.*, May 11 (with a local item in which 9 blows are reported); Portland *Oregonian*, May 11. The *Rocky Mt. News* of May 10 says "3 strokes drove the spike," and the Carson telegraph office heard the indications of five blows (Carson *Appeal*, May 11).

20. See *Hist. Register, U. S. Army* (Washington, D. C., 1903), I, 345, for career of John Charles Currier.

21. E. C. Schafer (note 1 above) learned from the dept. of the army, West Point Academy, and the Smithsonian Institution that six types of military swords were in use in 1869. M. L. Peterson of the latter organization gave the names and weights of swords in use in 1869 and a sketch of the one whose tang could have made the indentations. Ross P. Buell, supt., U. S. mint, San Francisco, in a letter of Feb. 10, 1955, stated that a 2-pound hammer, dropped 20 inches, made an indentation in a gold bullion bar similar in composition to the gold spike, which was of the same depth as the deepest indentation on the spike.

22. Some of the reporters stated that the engines were recoupled to their coaches before making the crossing, but this may be questioned as the engines alone would serve equally well for the symbolic crossing of traffic between the east and west.

23. *Bull.*, May 13.

News of the Society

NEW BY-LAWS

At its meeting on September 11, 1957, the Board of Directors approved a new set of By-Laws for the Society. The new By-Laws will become effective January 1, 1958.

Aside from dropping some provisions that do not fit conditions as they are today, the new By-Laws provide but two major changes. The first of these is that the annual dues for Active Members will be fifteen dollars. This is a change that has been known for some time to be inevitable but which cannot be delayed longer if our staff is to be paid salaries that are comparable with those paid by other institutions. The present rate of ten dollars for this class of membership was set at the time the Society was reorganized in 1922.

The second major change provided by the new By-Laws is to change the name of the governing board of the Society to Board of Trustees from Board of Directors, and to increase its membership from fifteen to twenty-five, divided into five classes serving terms of five years each. Because of the great growth of the Society, it is felt a larger and a rotating Board of Trustees is required.

The new By-Laws are published herewith in full.

BY-LAWS
OF
CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY

(Adopted September 11, 1957, effective January 1, 1958)

Article I

Name

1. This Society shall be styled California Historical Society. Its object shall be to collect, preserve, and diffuse information relating to the history of California and the American West.

Article II

Membership

1. The membership of this Society shall consist of corporate members, associate members, and fellows. None but corporate members shall have a vote or have any interest in the property of the Society. Upon the death, resignation, or expulsion of a corporate member, neither he nor his estate shall have any interest in the property of the Society.
2. Corporate members shall be classified as:
 a. Active members, whose dues shall be fifteen dollars per annum;
 b. Sustaining members, whose dues shall be twenty-five dollars per annum; and
 c. Patron members, whose dues shall be one hundred dollars per annum.

3. Associate members shall be such business, professional, educational, and public organizations that shall be elected to such membership and shall pay such dues as may be prescribed by the Board of Trustees in each case.

4. Fellows shall be such persons distinguished by their attainments in the field of history that shall be elected to such membership by the Board of Trustees. Fellows shall not be required to pay dues.

5. Members of all classes shall be elected to membership by the Board of Trustees. Persons so elected must qualify within thirty days from date of election by payment of the prescribed dues.

ARTICLE III

Board of Trustees

1. The governing authority of this Society shall be vested in a Board of Trustees, consisting of twenty-five corporate members, five of whom shall be elected each year for a term of five years and until their successors are elected. No Trustee shall be elected to more than two terms in succession.

Note: Members of the Board of Directors of this Society at the time these revised By-Laws become effective, who are willing to become members of the new Board of Trustees, shall draw lots for places on the new Board of Trustees. Such members of the new Board of Trustees shall be eligible to election for one succeeding term. The remaining places on the new Board of Trustees shall be filled at the next Annual Meeting.

2. Vacancies in the Board of Trustees may be filled by the remaining trustees.

3. The Board of Trustees shall meet at the call of the President but not less frequently than once in each three months' period.

4. Five Trustees shall constitute a quorum for the transaction of business.

ARTICLE IV

Officers

1. The Board of Trustees shall meet soon after the Annual Meeting and choose from its membership the following officers: President, First Vice-President, Second Vice-President, Third Vice-President, Secretary, and Treasurer. The offices of Secretary and Treasurer may be held by one person.

2. These officers shall perform the duties usually associated with their offices and such other duties as the Board of Trustees or the President may assign.

ARTICLE V

Meetings

1. The Annual Meeting of this Society shall be held on the third Thursday of January in each year, at such place and time as the President shall designate, with at least ten days' notice of such meeting.

2. Five members of the Board of Trustees shall be elected for terms of five years each at each Annual Meeting.

3. Special meetings may be called by the President and must be called on the written request of fifteen corporate members. Special meetings shall require ten days' notice, and the object of such meeting shall be stated in the notice by which it is called.

4. Fifteen members shall constitute a quorum at any meeting of the Society.

ARTICLE VI

Nomination and Election to the Board of Trustees

1. At least four months before the Annual Meeting of the Society, the President shall appoint a Nominating Committee of three corporate members to prepare a list of nominations for all vacancies in the Board of Trustees. No one shall serve more than two consecutive years, and no incumbent trustee shall serve on the Nominating Committee. The Secretary shall promptly notify the members of the Society of the personnel of the Nominating Committee.

2. The Nominating Committee shall report to the Secretary a complete list of nominations, in time to be communicated to the membership at least two months before the Annual Meeting. Additional nominations may be made over the signatures of at least 25 members, to be received by the Secretary not later than one month before the Annual Meeting. If any such additional nominations are received, the membership shall be notified promptly and ballots shall be prepared for voting at the Annual Meeting.

3. If no additional nominations are received before the date specified, those nominated by the Committee shall be declared elected at the Annual Meeting. Any vacancy in the list of nominees shall be filled by nomination at the Annual Meeting.

ARTICLE VII

Amendments

1. These By-Laws may be amended at any meeting of the Board of Trustees, provided advice of such amendment is given in the notice by which the meeting is called, and provided further that such amendment is assented to by at least thirteen of the Trustees.

Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund. Below are the names that have been inscribed since the commencement of the memorial:

Frank Howard Allen
Joseph Emmanuel Anderson
Marion Atkins
Thomas P. Bacon
A. R. Baldwin
Isabelle Ball
Arthur John Bancroft
Eleanor Ashby Bancroft
Oscar Thomas Barber
Harvey Wetmore Beard
Jessie Beard
Rae Griswold Behrens
Harry C. Bell
Edward Washington Bender
Mrs. Marcus P. Bennett
Katharine Esther Bennitt
Julia Stamper Berman
Mariana Bertola, M.D.
Edith Ward Berwyn
Clarence Leo Best
Francis Edward Bishop
Sally McKee Black
Lilian Hoogs Blaisdell
Edwin T. Blake
Hope Bliss
Herbert Eugene Bolton
Charles Philip Boone
Eleanor Smith Boone
Marie Wilson Bradley
Philip Read Bradley
Paul W. Brannon
Arthur H. Breed
LeRoy H. Briggs, M.D.
Dora Brock
Frances Des Marais Brogan
Ella M. Brooke
Leonard W. Buck, M.D.
Eldridge Ayer Burbank
John R. Burns
Charlotte Wilson Cadwalader
George Toland Cameron
Rumsey Campbell
William W. Carruth
Katherine Thayer Cate
William Cavalier
Bessie Hobart Chapman
Isaac Flint Chapman
William Crist Charlton
Ralph Perry Chessall, D.D.S.
William A. Chick
Alma Sherman Chickering
Randolph Clement
Etta W. Coleman
Mary Murdock Compton
Frederick Herman Coon
Oscar Cooper
George Mackey Cornwall
Lilian A. Cross
Thomas Graham Crothers
Florence Osterero Cullen
Abraham Lincoln Danziger
Lilly E. Davis
Jerry W. DeCou
Monroe E. Deutsch
Angelo R. Duperu
Alice Eastwood
Maude Wyman Eberts
Ernest Frank Eckhardt
Glada V. Elden
Paul Eliel
Minnie Walker Engs
Alfred I. Esberg
Helen Richardson Espy
Edward Lilburn Eyre
Joseph Faunt Le Roy
Estelle Lyon Fay
Edward B. Field
George Filmer
Herbert Fleishhacker
Roy S. Folger
Rita Manning Foster
Thomas G. Franck
George August Fuhrig
Amy Corder Gaines
Dan Gallagher
Robert B. Gaylord

Alfred Ghirardelli
Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Frank Carroll Giffen
William M. Gilliland
Eliza Jane Gilman
Hugh Currin Githens
Mary Glide Goethe
Lutie D. Goldstein
Irene L. Goudey
Olive Martha Gould
Charles Francis Griffin, M.D.
Mabel Thompson Haas
Abraham P. Hankes
Phil Townsend Hanna
Warren Thomas Hannum
Lowell E. Hardy
Jessie Vaughan Harrier
Margaret N. Hart
Frederick Harvey
Thomas Norman Harvey
William Dunn Henley
Armand Leon Hering
John Raymond Herman
Flodden W. Heron
Emily Coey Hittell
Walter Scott Hobart
Elois F. Hodges
Mabel L. Holmes
Mary Pardow Hooper
John Howell
Grant James Hunt
J. J. Jackson
Joseph Henry Jackson
Erwina Smith Janin
Virginia Utz Jobe
Caroline Lendelof Johnson
Otis R. Johnson
George Keil
Frederick B. Kellam
Gareth Kellam
Alfred Brooks Kennedy
Arthur C. Kennedy
George E. Kennedy
Gerald Driscoll Kennedy
Elizabeth Thacher Kent
Emma T. Kessler
Ansel R. Kinne
Dudley Kinsell
Helen Kinsell
Emelyn West Knowland
Eva M. Koch
Elma Farnham Kroll
Shuey Kroll
Ethel A. Krook
William James Laing
Philip Van Horne Lansdale
William C. Latham
Abbie Hyde Lewis
Azro N. Lewis
James L'Hommedieu
William J. Lindenberger
Douglas Stuart Loud
George Davis Louderback
Edna Hopkins Lowrey
George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.
Helen Flint Lyman
M. Hall McAllister
Richard Henry McCarthy
Ruby McCormick
Zella Jane McCreary
James H. McDonough
Jean Howard McDuffie
Jean Parker McEwen
Blanche Baldwin McGaw
Charles M. MacGregor
Eileen Leonard McInerny, M.D.
Richard McLaren
John A. McNear
Robert L. McWilliams
John Ward Mailliard, Jr.
Arthur S. Maloon
Edna Rodden Martin
Irving Martin
William O'Hara Martin
Winifred M. Menzies
Charles Washington Merrill
George Lovett Merwin
Helen Knox Merwin
Olga M. Meyer
Della Middleton
C. O. G. Miller
Ethel Rawles Miller
Tulita Wilcox Miner
Ruth Comfort Mitchell
Herbert C. Moffitt, M.D.
James Kennedy Moffitt
Margaret Jolliffe Moffitt
Joseph A. Moore
F. J. Morin
Helen Freer Morris
La Verne Scott Moss
Daniel J. Murphy

Richard H. Musson
Ruby Muther
Ralph W. Myers
Adolph Nelson
John J. Newbegin
Mrs. William H. Nolan
Frank H. Norcross
Thomas Wayne Norris
Frank M. Ogden
Albert Leslie Oliver
Edwin Letts Oliver
Emily Oliviera
Mrs. E. O. C. Ord
Martha Lamberton Osmer
Cornelius D. O'Sullivan
William G. Paden
Paul Paine
Whitney Palache
Robert J. Parker
Edwin Parrish
Julia Reynolds Parrish
Haig Patigian
Henry Hawley Patterson
May Hawley Patterson
Ann May Perry
Barbara Peters
Mrs. G. Baltzer Peterson
John Petrusich
Thomas L. Phillips
Minna Dohrmann Pischel
Paul P. Pitchlynn
Eloise LaVanche Moore Pius
Elizabeth Keith Pond
George A. Pope
Mrs. George A. Pope
Margaret James Porter
Mary Easton Porter
Katharine Hutchinson Post
J. Sheldon Potter
Mabel Gray Potter
Frank J. Reagan
Ida M. Reed
Mrs. Mark Requa
Ralph A. Reynolds, M.D.
Ruth Loring Richardson
Thomas M. Robinson, Jr.
Kernan Robson
Lester Roth
Laura Carmany Rulofson
Warren Russell
Julia D. Sammer
Walter Hans Schubert
Irving Murray Scott, Jr.
Charles McDowell Sharpsteen
William C. Sharpsteen
Edward J. Sheppard
William Henry Shine
Sevilla Hayden Shuey
Frederick Ortman Shumate, M.D.
Gertrude Miller Simmons
Louis F. Sinsheimer
Paul A. Sinsheimer
John Joaquin Smith
Henrietta L. Stadtmuller
Rosalie Meyer Stern
W. Foster Stewart
William Ely Stewart
Herbert F. Suhr
William E. Swallow, Jr.
J. D. Sweeney
Mrs. Leslie Symmes
Lewis Madison Terman
Willard Brown Thorp
L. Deming Tilton
Reuben Lukens Underhill
Eugenia Kendrick Vaughan
Henry Raup Wagner
Matt Wahrhaftig
Uda Waldrop
Anna Taulbee Warren
Harry C. Warren, M.D.
Willard O. Wayman
Albert S. Weaver
Dixon Wecter
Adaline M. Wellendorff
Lynn Townsend White
Charlotte Anita Whitney
Betty Loren Whitsell
Gerald Wessen Wickland
Katherine Ray Wickson
Otis Buckminster Wight, M.D.
Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.
Gordon F. Williamson
Leo Klays Wilson
Theodore P. Wittschen
Theodore Wores
Louise E. Wormley
Willis A. Zane
Gonzalo Zapata
Maria Ch. Zapata

In Memoriam

MRS. LOWELL E. HARDY

Florence Mayhew Hardy was born in 1878 in Red Bluff, Tehama County, where her father, George Henry Mayhew, a native of Indiana, was a successful merchant.* Her grandparents, the Rev. and Mrs. Horace Allen Mayhew of Maine, arrived in Red Bluff in July 1871, the Reverend Mayhew having been appointed minister of the town's First Presbyterian Church. Trained also in the law, his legal ability was recognized when in January 1876 he was elected county judge of Tehama County. He continued in office until 1880, performing at the same time his churchly duties.† Not to be outdone by her husband's accomplishments, Mrs. Mayhew, in addition to her enthusiastic response to the needs of a pioneer parish, entered into the equally pressing cause of temperance observance among the townspeople and into evolving plans for orphaned children. But these community interests seemed only to enhance her attributes as a mother, attributes which moved one historian to describe her as "withal a lady preeminently fitted to shine in the domestic circle."‡

In the course of her education, the H. A. Mayhews' granddaughter Florence—who seemed to have inherited to a high degree many of her grandmother's gracious qualities—attended the Oakland High School, and, in 1900, when she was 22 years old, was married to Lowell E. Hardy, a native of San Francisco, whose father, Lowell J. Hardy, Jr., had come to California in the spring of 1850. The Lowell E. Hardys had a happy married life until his death in 1951. By profession an investment banker, Mr. Hardy later became a director of the Central Bank of Oakland; he was likewise an author (in 1913, the John Lane Co. published his *Frosty Ferguson—Strategist*), and for several years prior to his death he edited the *California Historical Society Quarterly*. Mrs. Hardy assumed her husband's membership in the Society and continued as such until her own death on December 31, 1956. Present representatives of the Hardy family in the membership are Mr. Hardy's sister, Mrs. Estelle Jacoby of Hanford, California; and his daughter, Miss Rosemary M. Hardy, who resides in Piedmont. Mr. and Mrs. Hardy's son Lowell died in 1925.

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

**Great Register of Tehama County for the year 1879.*

†*Tehama County, California* (San Francisco: Elliott & Moore, 1880), pp. 116-17.

‡*Illustrated History of Sacramento County, California* (Chicago: Lewis Publg. Co., 1890), pp. 657-59.

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

June 15 to September 15, 1957

From members and friends of the Society in many places have come generous gifts, including materials of historical interest and subscriptions toward the Building Fund:

BARNSTABLE, MASSACHUSETTS
Miss Ellen L. Osgood

BEAUFORT, SOUTH CAROLINA
Mrs. Adam Haskell

BERKELEY
Anson S. Blake
Mr. and Mrs. Philip L. Blake
Ralph H. Cross, Sr.
Albert I. Elkus
Francis P. Farquhar
J. W. Johnson
Mrs. Oliver S. Loud
Mr. and Mrs. Hobart M. Lovett
Miss Emily Jo Roberson
Mrs. Erna C. Seeger
Miss Mabel Symmes
Miss Emily L. Turner

BOLINAS
Mrs. George Willcutt

CARMEL
Mrs. Rogers P. Parratt

CHICO
Diamond Match Company

GATLINBURG, TENNESSEE
Walter Peirce

HAYWARD
Mrs. Gladys Sherman

KIRKWOOD, MISSOURI
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LOS BANOS
Ralph L. Milliken

LOS GATOS
C. D. Smiley

MALLORCA, SPAIN
Mrs. Dina Moore Bowden

MAXWELL
Mrs. Hyland Harelson

MELBOURNE, AUSTRALIA
E. Graeme Robertson, M.D.

NAPA
Miss Virginia Wilson

NEW YORK CITY, NEW YORK
G. C. Merrill
New-York Historical Society
Hans M. F. Schulman

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Miss Mary Edith Crosley

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PALO ALTO
George L. Harding

PIEDMONT
Walter A. Starr

REDLANDS
Mrs. Stewart R. Hotchkiss

RENO, NEVADA
State Historical Society of Nevada

ROSS
Mr. and Mrs. Laurence P. Easton

SACRAMENTO
The Hon. Sherrill Halbert
The Sacramento Bee

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Mrs. Oliver Kehrlein
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Miss Eleanor Kent
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Curtis Hooper O'Sullivan
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Mrs. Michael Riegel
Mrs. Bertha Stedman Rothwell
Miss Louella Sawyer
Porter Sesnon
Albert Shumate, M.D.
Chester W. Skaggs
Miss Ruth Teiser
Miss Emily Timlow
Mrs. William Ferree Timlow
The Hon. Edgar T. Zook

San Marino
Henry R. Wagner Estate

Santa Barbara
W. D. Allison
Elbert S. Conner
Mrs. W. F. Kelly

Stanford University
Charles A. Gauld

Walnut Creek
F. Hal Higgins

Recent Californiana

A Check-List of Publications Relating to California

Andre, Alexander. A Frenchman at the California Trinity River Mines in 1849. N. Y., The Westerners New York Posse, 1957. 25 p. Map. $2.50.

Chico Lodge No. III, F. & A. M. In Observance of the Centennial Anniversary of ... [Chico, The Lodge] 1957. 9 *l.* Illus., ports. [Apply to Lodge]

Conmy, Peter Thomas. The Historic Spanish Origin of California's Community Property Law and its Development and Adaptation ... San Francisco, Grand Parlor, Native Sons of the Golden West, 1957. [Apply to publisher]

Crosley, Mary Edith. Volcano, California; Most Picturesque of the Mother Lode Towns. [n.p., c1957] 30 p. Illus., ports. [Apply to author, 10832 Huston St., North Hollywood]

Curtis, Jesse William. The Bench and Bar of the County of San Bernardino, State of California. [San Bernardino, San Bernardino County Bar Association, 1957] 40 p. [Apply to publisher]

Duvall, Marius. A Navy Surgeon in California, 1846-1847; the Journal of Marius Duvall. Edited by Fred Blackburn Rogers. San Francisco, John Howell, 1957. x, 114 p. Port. $10.00.

Early, Raymond. Columbia. San Francisco, Fearon publishers [1957] 80 p. Illus., maps, ports. $2.00.

Evans, Henry H. San Francisco's Fisherman's Wharf. San Francisco, Porpoise Bookshop [c1957] 31 p. Illus. 25 cents.

Heil, Grant W., ed. Mission San Buena Ventura; One Hundred and Seventy-Fifth Anniversary, 1782-1957. Ventura, Mission San Buenaventura, 1957. [Apply to Mission]

Hunt, Rockwell Dennis. California Firsts. San Francisco, Fearon publishers, 1957. 314 p. $5.50.

Mitchell, Annie R. Jim Savage and the Tulareño Indians. Los Angeles, Westernlore Press, 1957. 118 p. Illus., maps. $5.50.

O'Dell, Scott. Country of the Sun; Southern California: an Informal History and Guide. N. Y., Crowell, 1957. 318 p. $3.95.

Scott, Edward B. The Saga of Lake Tahoe. [Crystal Bay, Lake Tahoe, Nevada, Sierra-Tahoe publishing co., c1957] Illus., maps, ports. $12.50.

Marginalia

Notes on Authors in This Issue:

For a biographical note on Mrs. Madie D. (Edmund N.) Brown, curator of the Vallejo Home and Historical Museum, Sonoma, California, *see* p. 189 of the June 1950 issue of this Quarterly, at the time that the Society published her article, "Gen. M. G. Vallejo and H. H. Bancroft."

The daughter of a physician, Dr. Allen L. Haenszel, whose professional work took him and his family to the sites of gold mines — *e.g.*, Searchlight, Nev. — and along the right-of-way of a transcontinental railroad (he is division-surgeon for the Santa Fe in San Bernardino at present), Miss Arda M. Haenszel knows a broad section of the west from actual experience. She graduated from the University of California in 1932; and after becoming a teacher in the San Bernardino public schools, she has spent her summer vacations partly in study at the Bancroft Library, and partly, while en route to and from Berkeley, in locating and photographing historic sites. She is an active member of the San Bernardino County Historical Society, also landmarks chairman and former vice-president of the county's Museum Association. The current issue of the latter's Quarterly contains an article by Miss Haenszel on "Historic Sites in San Bernardino County."

Francis Bourn Hayne (*b.* San Francisco, 1903) is the second son of Maud Eloise Chase Bourn and William Alston Hayne II. He was graduated from Harvard College, B.S. degree, in 1926; and, after some 10 years in newspaper work, in teaching, and in drafting (architectural office of Bakewell & Brown, San Francisco), he completed requirements for the M.Arch. degree (granted in 1937) at his alma mater's architectural school. Then followed 4 years in the architectural office of Henry Howard, San Francisco, and work with the U. S. corps of engineers. In January 1947 he opened his own architectural office in San Francisco, where he continued to practice until January 1955. Since then, he has maintained his office at his home in Kentfield. In 1931, Mr. Hayne married Anna Walcott of Marblehead, Mass. (For genealogical data on the Hayne family of South Carolina

and California; and on the Chase-Bourn families, *see* the California Historical Society's biographical file.)

Lucy Agar Marshall, born and reared in San Francisco and a graduate of the Teachers' College, San Jose, was awarded a master of arts degree by the Univercity of California, Berkeley, in 1915; subject of her thesis, "[Richard] Hooker's [1553-1600] Possible Influence on Shakespeare." While teaching in Santa Ana, California, she was married to one of its citizens, Samuel Baxter Marshall, a direct descendant of the 17th-century English Puritan prose-writer, Richard Baxter (1615-91). Mrs. Marshall's study of her grandfather — the 19th-century English-born California resident, Samuel Marsden Brookes — now brings talented Englishmen of the Old and the New Albion closer together.

Russell M. Posner, a native of San Francisco, received his Ph.D. degree in American history in September 1956, the subject of his thesis being "State Politics and the Bank of America, 1920-34." Since 1949, he has been employed as an instructor in history at the City College of San Francisco. Mr. Posner is the author of "What You Would See in Czechoslovakia," published in the *California Monthly* for November 1949; and in June 1957 his "A. P. Giannini and the 1934 Campaign in California" was published in the Historical Society of Southern California's *Quarterly*. History book-reviews by Mr. Posner may be found in the *Argonaut*, San Francisco.

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CALIFORNIA HISTORICAL SOCIETY QUARTERLY

December 1957

California Historical Society Quarterly

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Mrs. Jane Henry Gay-Robinson,
Mother of Alfred Robinson,
as a young girl, dressed for presentation at the French court.
Courtesy, Robert Morris

The Mother of Alfred Robinson

By her Great-Great-Great Grandson,

Robert Morris

Named by H. H. Bancroft in 1885 as the "Oldest Surviving Pioneer,"[1] Alfred Robinson (*b.* Boston, Massachusetts, 1807) continued to retain that title for nearly a decade longer, during which he added not only age to the credit side of his personal ledger but also the increased respect of his fellow-townsmen. Among his distinctions was his delivery of the first authenticated placer gold from California to the U. S. mint in Philadelphia—gold, mined not in 1848 on the property of James W. Marshall, but some half-dozen years earlier on Antonio del Valle's San Francisco Rancho in the Los Angeles area.[2]

In 1828, Robinson had set sail from Boston on the *Brookline,* to engage in the trading business along the coast of California.[3] Some 8 years later he married[4] Ana María, daughter of the comandante of the Santa Barbara presidio Capt. José de la Guerra y Noriega, a man said to have been of such honesty, good judgment, and dignity that the title "patriarch" seemed particularly fitting.[5] Indeed, Alfred Robinson was so impressed with his father-in-law that he wrote a biographical sketch about the comandante for a compilation entitled *Representative and Leading Men of the Pacific,* published in San Francisco in 1870. As to Robinson's *Life in California,* which was printed in New York in 1846, it became a standard reference work for those engaged in a study of west-coast occurrences during 1830-1842, though somewhat tinctured (a thing difficult to avoid) at times by the author's prejudices and those of his father-in-law.[6] When examined in connection with Robinson's business letters,[7] written from Santa Barbara, San Francisco, San Diego while he was agent for the Boston firm of Bryant & Sturgis, the reader is furnished with detailed substantiation of the data given in narrative form in the book; but he also has glimpses of another side of Robinson's character, namely his humor, in those passages where, though imparting commercial information of importance, he indulges in a letter-writer's privilege of using the light touch. For example, writing from San Diego in March 1835, he includes this society-column item:

We have *Dandies here* as well as at *Home*. The fact is the country has entirely altered and the taste of the people has become more refined – what sold readily when I arrived in the Brookline now they will not look at & he or she that can make the greatest shew in dress or fashion is noted as the Gentleman or Lady –[8]

Alfred Robinson was the son of Jane Henry (*b.* 1765, Boston; *d.* 1824, burial in Granary Ground, Boston), daughter of Jean McQuestion of Medford, Ireland, and Robert Henry (Hendry), who came to Boston in November 1740 aboard the *Captain Blacklock* from Londonderry in northern Ireland.[9] By the age of 18, Jane had been presented at the French court, an event which did not happen to every pretty young lady at that time. Subsequently she had married Capt. Timothy Gay, a wealthy Boston merchant. After the birth of the Gays' 6th child (of whom 4 survived), the captain died, and Jane had married a widower, Col. James Robinson, already possessed of 9 children (another had died young), by his first wife, Lydia Newhall of Lynn, Massachusetts. With a combined living progeny of 13, James Robinson and his second wife thereupon proceeded to raise their quota to 19 – the additional offspring (of whom 3 had died in youth) including Alfred, Alexander H., and Helen Maria. From the point of view of numbers alone, it was a responsibility of some magnitude for stepmother-mother Jane Henry Gay-Robinson, the Boston-born Irish lass who had once courtesied to Louis XVI of France.

Of Jane's children besides Alfred, Helen Maria Robinson (*b.* April 9, 1809, Boston; *d.* Sept. 26, 1883, Bridgeport, Connecticut) married James John Fullerton (*b.* March 28, 1808, Halifax, N. S.; *d.* June 4, 1849); to them were born 5 children.[10] After her husband's death, Mrs. Fullerton lived on in New England, to become known, perhaps with a wink at herself on her part, as a "snooty old lady who drank lemonade." Meanwhile her brother Alfred was utilizing a more durable type of liquid – one whose waves lapped the continent's opposite coast line – on which to make his fortune, and by his natural abilities and conduct to bring honor to the memory of his father and the lady pictured here.

NOTES

1. Bancroft (*History of California*, V, 698) qualifies the statement by adding "so far as my records [of ample proportions] show."

2. *Ibid.*, IV, 296-97.

3. Adele Ogden, "Business Letters of Alfred Robinson," *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quar-*

terly, XXIII (Sept., Dec. 1944), 193 ff.; her note 1 (p. 213) lists several references in connection with Robinson's career, among them Henry Dwight Barrows, Hist. Soc. Southern Calif., *Publs*, IV, pt. 3 (1899), pp. 234-36.

4. Entry #188, Book II, Matrimonios: Santa Barbara Mission; date of wedding, Jan. 24, 1835; officiating clergyman, Father Narciso Duran; witnesses, José de la Guerra y Noriego, and Angustias de la Guerra de Ximeno. Information communicated to present writer by Frank B. Putnam, historian, Security-First Nat'l Bank of Los Angeles, citing research on the subject by T. W. Temple.

5. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 770.

6. *Ibid.*, IV, 343-44; V, 698; Robinson wrote *Life In California* anonymously.

7. Ogden, note 3 above.

8. *Ibid.*, Dec. 1944 installment of letters, p. 317.

9. The grandmothers of the Robinson family have been great Family-Bible keepers, making possible, for example, together with material from allied sources, Henry Suydam Fullerton's masterly research on the Fullerton genealogy to which Herbert Robinson Vandemoer of Denver, Colo., called the present writer's attention. From the voluminous data kindly made available to him on the ancestors and descendants of the Robinson family and their collaterals, he has compiled (typed manuscript) "Family Bible Nuggets," now on file in the library of the Calif. Hist. Soc., San Francisco. At the state library in Sacramento, Miss Margaret Dennison, librarian in charge of the California room, made helpful suggestions during the course of the above compilation; acknowledgment is also made to Miss Grace Wells of Berkeley, for her interest and encouragement.

10. Fullerton died of cholera in New York.

A Boy's Voyage to San Francisco, 1865-66

Selections from the Diary of William Bowers Bourn Ingalls

Transcribed, with Notes,

By F. Bourn Hayne

(Concluded)

Feb. 23rd: This morning I went over to the New Almaden Mines—they are quick silver mines and they are the richest in this country—the men that work in it are very nearly all Spaniards and are very dark.

New Almaden is situated at the foot of the mountain where the mines are. We had to go round and round to get to the top. The road is frightful as it is very narrow and but few places to turn out; we met a few wagons on the way and it was hard to pass them. But finally we got to the top of the mountain and I was surprised to see so many Spaniards and all of them at work. I allways thought that they were lazy and always lazing about. After we had seen all we wanted to see outside, we went into the mine; before we go down in the mine there is a tunnel that goes in to the ground eight hundred feet before it goes down. At the end of the tunnel there is an engine and that works, and brings the silver out of the mine; after we had seen all that was to be seen we went down into the mine. Mary and another gentleman led the way and a Spanish boy took them down, another boy took Uncle William, Willie and myself and I enjoyed it very much. Mother and Aunt Sarah did not go down into the mine but they went in the tunnel. . . . I went down to the bottom of the mine and I knocked some pieces off and the men said that they were very rich and while we were down there, there were four or five blasts and Uncle William was told that it was the richest that they had ever struck. After a while we went up again and found that mother and Aunt Sarah had gone out of the tunnel. We then went out of the tunnel and then rode down the hill to the Soda Springs. A gentleman got a bottle of lemmon syrup to drink with the water and it tasted very nice. We rode out of the canyon and stopped by the road side and ate our lunch under a baytree and it was all in blossom and it was beautiful to see the hills all about us.

Feb. 24th: This morning we left at eight oclock for the Warm Springs. Now I suppose you want to know what they are. They are springs warmed by the fires inside of the earth—all of us took a bath and when I first put my foot in I was a little afraid as the water was heated by the fires in the earth. The hotel is situated at the foot of the hill so when you are riding in the road you cannot see it. They have a bowling alley and billiard room and a lake and I enjoyed myself on the lake and I took Mary and Willie out on the lake in a boat. There is one spring that is warm, and there is sulphur magnecia and iron and I drank three or four tumblers of it and it tasted like a boiled egg.

March 2nd: This morning we are going to the Warm Springs by way of Alameda and at Alameda there is a kind of a bridge that extends out a good way in the water and we land at the wharf and then we took the cars for Hayward. There we took a carriage for the Warm Springs—it is about twelve miles to there, and it is a very pleasant ride. We staid all night there and before mother went to bed she took a bath and she enjoyed it very much. In the morning I went out to the spring to drink some water before breakfast and after we got through I went out on the lake. . . .

March 18th: This afternoon was the opening of Saint James Church[17]—it is the church where the boys are to sing and we sung the whole service and in the Te Deum I sung two solos and these are the first I ever sung in church. The service was at Dashaway Hall,[18] the Bishop[19] was present. Rev. Mr. Goodman[20] and three other ministers and the Bishop gave an address and it was very appropriate for the occasion and the hall was crowded and it passed off very pleasantly and satisfactorily.

Easter Day, April 1st, 1866: We had service this afternoon at Dashaway hall—it is where we have the service of Saint James church that is to be built and is to have the choral service. Mother went to service and she thought that it was fixed splendidly with flowers and she thought that it was fixed as pretty as any church that she had been into. We have the Sunday school there. Today Mr. [W. G.] Badger,[21] who is the superintendent, said that every boy and girl was to have a boquet and he had made a kind of a painted arch, and holes were made for the boquets, and they were all filled. In the evening the choir went up to Grace Cathedral and we sung the Offertory Sentences and I sung three of them and they sounded nicely in the church as it was so very large.

April 7: This morning we started for Napa at eleven oclock—we took a

boat and landed us at Suscol[22] about half past two and then we took a train which took us to Napa—it was very warm there and I was glad to get out of the place. Then Uncle William got a carriage and we started for the White Sulphur Springs;[23] we did not arrive at the springs until about eight oclock. We had to cross two streams and at one place the driver got out to feel the way before crossing as there was quick sand round there and mother says she will never forget it.

April 8: This morning I got up very early to gather some wild flowers for mother and I went up on the high hills to gather them. The hotel is situated right in the canyon on the side of a mountain and there is a stream of water running by the side of the house and I went bull frogging and I caught five of them, and I had them cooked for supper and they thought they were very nice.

There are five different sulphur springs and they are very much stronger than those of San Jose in the taste of sulphur and the water was yellow with the sulphur and the water was warmer.

April 9: This morning about eight oclock we started for the Calistoga Springs which is about ten miles from the White Sulphur Springs and we arrived there about eleven oclock and it is very pleasant there, only it is lacking for the want of trees. The springs are boiling and it will boil an egg in three minutes and we boiled one and it tasted as well as though it had been boiled by the fire. There are twelve cottages and a hotel—the cottages are named and we spent the night at the Revere House. I got up very early on purpose to see the stream coming out of the ground, but in the middle of the day you cannot see it as it is so very warm. There is a swimming bath up there and it is warm, and Uncle William, Mary, Willie and myself all went in bathing. Uncle William and I swam out in the deep part and dove down and had some fun. I must tell you about Willie: he had been boasting of his swimming, saying that he could swim better than I, so I let him keep on, so when I got in, I just swam out to see if he would follow me. But instead of following me he kept hold of the rope, standing there and looking at me, and he could not swim a stroke, but the funniest of it was he said he could swim in the Hudson R. but he could not swim in the bath. They had steam baths up there and mother and Aunt Sarah took one and mother says that she never felt so warm in her life, and when she began to dry herself the very place she began to dry herself first would be all warm again. And when she got through she felt very tired and she layed down to rest herself.

April 10th: This morning we started for the Napa Boat—it leaves at four oclock; when we got at Napa we took steamer cars for Suscol Landing, about four miles from Napa. We took the boat which took us down to the city; on our way down we stopped at Mare Island and at Vallejo. At Mare Isl. there is a fine fort and it is where all the man-o-war men stay and they make gas on the Isl. and they have a Burial Ground. There is where they bury all of the sailors that die on the Isl. The night we came down it was very rough and a good many persons on board were sick, all of our party were, and I was sick the longest. We got in about eight oclock and when we got home I ate a pretty good sized piece of beef stake and some potatoes. I was very hungry.

April 21: This afternoon I went out horse-back riding with a party of ladies and gentlemen. We rode out to the Cliff House; we got out there about half past five. We took our supper out there and then we started for home. We took the Ocean House road and came upon the beach, and I could not hold my pony he wanted to go so. But I let him go just as fast as he wanted to and I raced two persons and I beat them both; we left about six and came into the city—as we went through the streets every body stopped and looked at us, we came in abreast. I did not get home until after eight oclock and I was very hungry.

May 1st: All the public schools had a holiday and our school had one—they all went on a picnic down to San Mateo and I went down to the depot to see them off. They started about nine oclock and I never heard such cheering in all my life, the boys were screaming so. They came in about six oclock and there was such a crowd. I did not know as they were ever coming to an end.

May 5th: This morning the Rincon[24] base ball team the one that I belong to, played a match with the Young America—we began playing about half past ten and we played until one oclock and we beat them ten runs. Our club put up a ball for a reward for the side that beat but they did not get it.

May 14: I have not been to school today and this morning I went down town to get a lasso to bring home to Abbott. I went with John, Mrs. Hathaway's[25] coachman, and he chose it for me, and it is a very nice one and it cost four dollars, and it is made all of horsehide and it is very long.

I went to meet mother at Mrs. Brooks. She is a friend that came out on the steamer with us and she told me that the steamer was in, so mother told me to go down to get the letters. I went to Uncle Williams

office to get the keys of his box and I ran off for the post office, and I found there two letters for Uncle William and one for mother and I.

May 15: I took my music lesson and I am taking the piece called the Lucrezia Borgia and I like it very much.

I went down to Richard Brooks to spend an hour with him and from there I went to the rehersal.

May 16th: Mother and I have been out all day making our goodbye calls. We started at ten oclock in the morning and we got through about half past four in the afternoon, making thirty one calls in all.

I went down to Mr. Badger's store and there I met Mr. [—. —.] Meyer who used to sing in Trinity Choir, N. Y. I was never more surprised in all my life to see him out here.

May 17: Today was the aniversary of the Industrial School[26] of which Mr. Badger is president—he very kindly invited Willie and I to go out in the carriage with him. We started about half past nine in the morning and the exercises began about half past eleven, and they opened by the Lords Prayer which was sung by the school, then one of the ministers prayed and then the exercises begun. They opened by singing "Shall We Gather at the River" and then they spoke pieces, some dialogues, and we enjoyed it very much. Mr. Badger delivered an address and after that I sung a solo and the name of it was "There Is a Light in the Window for Thee." After the exercises the scholars had a collation and they seemed to enjoy it very much as they did not have such a good dinner every day. We left about half past three and on our way home we stopped at the Deaf and Dumb Asylum[27] and they have blind boys there. Mr. Badger spoke with the dumb and deaf and he used his fingers, and he did it so very fast. We saw some blind boys, and they played on different instruments—one played on the piano, another on the violin, and another played on the flute, and another played on the clarionet.

May 18: I left home about five oclock in the morning to take a horseback ride with Mr. Badger. We rode down Second St. to Mission St. and rode out on that street until we went on Pioches Mountain road.[28] We rode upon one of the hills and we could see the ocean on one hand and the city and the bay could be seen on the other hand. I enjoyed it very much and we arrived in the city about eight oclock and if nothing happens tomorrow morning I am going out again at the same time.

After I finished riding we went down and visited the Mint[29]—it is a very large building and in one of the offices there is a pair of scales and

thousands oz. can be weighed at once. We went down into the melting room and we saw gold being melted and in one pot there was over twenty thousand dollars. One of the gentleman that sings in the choir works there and I was surprised to see him there.

We visited the Pioneer Hall[30] it is the home of those that came out here in 1849 and it contains many curiosities. There is a areolite[31] there which fell a few years ago in Arizona, weighing eight hundred pounds—it rings like a bell if it is struck with a metal. In the afternoon I went to the rehersal which past off very pleasantly. Next Sunday being Whit Sunday we have the same service we had the first Sunday.

This evening Willie called a meeting of the boys to organize a base ball club; he lighted his little house in the yard with a candle and a kerosene lamp and I acted as chairman. After we got through I blew the candle and the lamp out and left them in the dark—they cheered and had a jolly time.

May 19: This morning I went to take a horseback ride with Mr. Badger and Miss at the same time as yesterday. And Miss Badger and myself raced and we kept pretty even—she had a very fast trotting horse and I had a loping one.

In the morning I went to the Jewish Synagogue[32] which has just been opened and I was never in such a building in all my life. They had the service in Hebrew and it was very interesting and I never heard such an intoner in all my life.

And we also went to Jesuite College[33] and they had service and it was very interesting—they use a great deal of gas in the chancel, it was lit up. The words Mary, Hail, and Jesus, was lit up and it looked beautiful. Hail was in the middle of the chancel and Mary and Jesus was on each side of it.

May 20: Today is Whitsunday—I went to Sunday School early to help Mr. Badger fix the flowers in the hall. At Sunday School I sung two solos, one of them were "There Is a Light in the Window for Thee Brother" and the other was "We Three Kings of Orient Are." In the afternoon we had church at three as usual at Dashaway Hall. Mother was there and has been there to service ever since the church has been open.

After church I went up to see Mr. Elliot with Mr. Badger—he is the gentleman that teaches us black board lessons. He has been very badly hurt but he is better now—he was coming home from a picnic and he put his head out of the window and hit himself right on the back of his head and broke his skull.

May 21: This morning mother packed some things away as she expects to go to the Yosemite Valley tomorrow.

This evening I went up to Mr. Badger as Mr. Meyer was to be there, the one that sung in Trinity Church New York and it seemed very natural to meet him out here. Mother and I was out making calls and I went down to Mr. Badgers store and I saw Mr. Meyer; at first he did not know me but I knew him as soon as I saw him.

May 22: This morning it rained very hard and very unexpectedly as it does not rain out of the season very often. This morning I took my music lesson and I am practicing the scales. This afternoon I went to the rehersal. Mr. Meyer is to have charge of the boys and we had a splendid rehersal and Mr. Meyer is so strict he goes right into it. It seems very natural to see him have charge of the boys as he used to sing in the choir at Trinity.

May 23: This morning I went out to take a horseback ride with mother; she rode in a carriage with Mrs. Hathaway—we went out on the Ocean House Road.

The steamer got in today and mother got a letter from father and from Annie.

I rode on the Benjamins pony and I enjoyed it very much as I had not rode the pony for some time.

This afternoon I played ball with our club of which Willie Badger is captain. Last Saturday the club played a match over to Oakland with the "Live Oaks." The first two or three games we were ahead, but after a while they caught up to us, and kept ahead of us the rest of the game. When we finished playing the score was taken and counted up to see who beat. It was found the Live Oaks beat us twenty runs.

May 24: This morning I went with mother and Aunt Sarah to the examinations at Mary's school; she was examined in Ancient History, Dictation, Abreviations. Zaidee and Frankie were examined in French and it was real cunning to hear Frank speak french.

They had a class in calistanics and Zaidee and Frank took them, and it was real cunning to see some of them handle the dumb bells. This afternoon I went to the rehersal and we had a very pleasant one as Mr. Meyer has charge of the choir. Next Saturday the choir and the Sunday School are going on a picnic down to San Mateo Grove. We are going to have a band of music to accompany us, and we are going to meet at Dashaway Hall at half past seven and we are going to march down to the San Jose cars and the train goes at half past nine.

May 25: This morning I went to the examination of Mary's school and it was very interesting and there were several duets played by the different girls. In the afternoon mother, Uncle William and Aunt Sarah went to the Yosemite Valley and it was pouring.

May 26: Willie has got up a base ball club and this morning they played a match with the California base ball club. The match begun at nine and played until eleven, and the California beat them five runs.

May 27: This morning I went to Sunday School and after Sunday School, Mr. Badger and some other boys and myself went to see where the lot was that Mr. Badger had bought for the Church.

June 2nd: This morning I went down to Dashaway Hall to meet the Sunday School as we were all going on a picnic. We started at half past eight—we had a band of music and they marched at the head of the procession, and we went down to the San Jose R R. cars and we started for San Mateo at half past nine. The grounds we went to were called the Peoples Park—it is very large and they had a platform and the musicians sat in there place and they had a dance.

Steamship Golden Age—*Saturday, June 9:* This morning we started for Brooklyn; we left Uncle Williams house about half past eight as mother had a few errands to attend to. She stopped at Professor Scotts music store to get me a piece of music and also to bid him goodbye, but we were told he would come down to the steamer but we did not see anything of him. When mother got through with all of her errands we went to Uncle William's office as he had to go there before he went to the steamer and from there we went right to the steamer and on arriving there we found everything, noise and confusion and we went to our state room which is a little bit of one, but mothers thinks she will be able to get another room.

Monday, June 11: This morning mother got another state room and it is a very large one and there is three berths and one bed and we have it all alone and mother has one of her trunks in the room so that that serves as a table.

The children are not allowed to go to the first table but a gentleman mother was introduced to got me a seat at the first table but not with mother. Yesterday we passed an American brig—we could only distinguish it and its flag. When we came in sight of it one of the quarter masters got the flag and put it up double quick time. This morning when the waiters were getting ready for lunch an alarm of fire was heard and

it was such fun to see the waiters leave there things and run. There was no fire at all, but they did it so as to get them accustomed to it so if there was a fire to have them ready for it. They pulled the hose out and they let the water on and it looked splendid; every waiter having a pail of water in his hand and the captain on the wheel house.

June 12: This afternoon I played eucre with mother and she beat me the first three games but I soon caught up to her and I beat her.

There is a gentleman on board that is a mute and I learned the alphabet with my fingers, so that I can speak with him. Mother met him up to the Yosemite Valley and she thought it was too bad that he could not speak, but she says that he seems to enjoy anything that is interesting. This evening some of the ladies were teaching him how to play bezique and when he got an idea you ought to have seen his face light up with pleasure.

June 13: I have made some very pleasant acquaintances. I will mention one family, the name is the Parkers; there is two young ladies and their mother. They reside at Aspinwall and they invited me to come up to see their place when we get there; they live upon the hill and they can look right out on the ocean. One of the ladies looks very much like sister, and they play bezique and I watch them with great interest, and I think that I shall be able to play when I get home. This morning when I got up I went upon deck and the first thing I saw was land, and it seemed very nice to see the land after being out of the sight of it so long. It was the lower part of California and there are all islands and off one island I think I saw a ship, but I was not sure as it was so far away.

June 14: This morning when I went upon deck to take a walk I was greatly surprised to see land. It looked very very green after being on the sea for such a long time. This afternoon I sat down to write to Willie Bourn and after I got through I went out in the cabin. I saw the flag flying and I went upon deck and I saw a sail. I looked through the captains spy glass and I saw that it was a steamer and that it was under the French flag. I asked captain where he thought it was going and he said up round Measet Land [Mazatlán].

June 15: This morning we got to Manzanillo; the entrance is very much like Acapulco but not so picturesque. Tomorrow we expect to get in at Acapulco about five o'clock in the afternoon. We got in about nine o'clock and we staid there until about two in the afternoon to get specie and we brought down some goods for them. It is not much of a place—there is two wooden buildings and the rest is made out of straw; one

wooden building is the custom house and the other is where a very welthy gentleman lives.

This evening when I was upon deck with mother, mother wanted to speak with the captain and ask him if he thought it safe to go ashore at Acapulco. He told her he did not know until he got there. Then after he got through talking with mother he was looking up at the stars and he happened to see the Southern Cross and he pointed it out to mother and she seemed perfectly happy. Tonight we expect to pass the comodores ship between nine and twelve.

June 16: This morning when I got up I got up with the expectation of getting into Acapulco. We expect to get in about five this afternoon and mother and I expect to go ashore if it is considered safe. When we entered the harbor of Acapulco they fired a gun and it echoed like everything. The city is very much the same when we came up, only it is torn down by the Mexicans on the mountains.

Mr. Gibbs got up a party and mother and I went with him and we got a boat and we went ashore. It is a very clean town and we went into the church and they have no seats and when they come to church they have to bring cushions.

The natives looked so nice and clean; one little boy had nothing on, was perfectly naked and there is no regularity in there streets. A gun was fired a half hour before we started and as soon as we heard it we got into the boat and we were off again.

June 17: Today is Sunday and it is very warm and I went to church twice—once in the morning in the cabin and in the afternoon I went to church out in the steerage.

June 18: This morning when I got up it was rather rough as there was a storm in the night. Mother told me of the storm in the morning. I did not hear any wind and I slept like a log all night.

We are in the Gulf of Tehuantepec and the captain says that it is very nearly always rough in the gulf. Last night I saw the Southern Cross.

June 19: I played euchre today with some gentlemen—we played four-handed and we beat them. Yesterday I ate a philopena[34] with Mrs. Moore and Dr. Holland and this morning I was watching for the Dr. and I saw him come out of his room and I called to the Dr. and I said philopena; now what do you think he said he would give me as a present, a dose of Caster Oil. The philopena I ate with Mrs. Moore was give and take, and this morning I was warm and her fan was laying on the sofa, and I took it and fanned myself and I handed her the fan and she took it

and I said philopena. There is a good deal of swell today and the ship pitches like the mischief, it does roll at all times and many are sick.

June 20: This morning when I got up it was very rough, I felt kind of seasick. Mother was sick this morning, she went to the table but before she was there ten minutes she had to leave because she was sick.

This afternoon I played a game of chess. I got beat. The gentleman I played with had a hard time of it. I made a little claret sangaree and it was very nice.

June 21: This morning mother went down in the baggage room to have her baggage weighed as we expect to get into Panama tomorrow morning. Mother has got a chicken for our lunch on the Isthmus as we shall want to eat of the fruits. This afternoon I had a game of chess and I was beaten. We have been in sight of land all day.

June 22: This morning we got into Panama at twenty three minutes past ten; we do not go up to the wharf as it is not deep enough so we anchored out in the harbor. About half past eleven a transport came up to take us ashore—several parties hired boats and went ashore before the rest. The transport that we took was the same one that we took when we came out and it was so close and hot and it was so warm at Panama. As soon as we went ashore we went right to the cars and all of the natives were round with there things to sell: some parrots, some cakes, others shells, others coconuts and all sorts of things. In a little while we started for Aspinwall, we had a good many passengers and it took two engines to carry us across the Isthmus. A little while afterwards we left Panama it begun to rain with thunder and lightning. We did not stop at all on the Isthmus and when we got to Aspinwall it was raining very hard and the streets were dreadful muddy. I went right to the consul's office as mother expected letters. I saw the consul and asked if there was any letters for mother—he said that he had not seen any, so I went back to the cars where mother was and told her. Then I staid in the cars and mother went out to buy some fruits and during that time the cars started and went up further and when it stopped I got out and I had the pleasure of walking back again with the things.

When I met mother she had three baskets full of fruits and she got some mangoes. After I got rid of all of the things, mother wanted me to go to the post office—it was up in one of the back streets and it was closed, and I went back to mother and she was so disappointed, as father had written that he would write. In a little while we started for the steamer. There was such a crowd that I came near being crushed.

I had a good many things to carry and some one pushed against me and made me drop my chessmen and it was nearly dark. I thought that I had lost some and as soon as I got on board I looked at them to see if I had lost any but I found that I had not lost one.

Steamship Northern Light, *June 26:* The night that we left Aspinwall it was moon light and the steamer did not get off until half past twelve on account of the baggage not arriving. I sat up until twelve as I wanted to get the carpet bag that contained our night clothes. Mother went to bed quite early but she told me if I got the baggage to wake her up.

The next day we had very heavy sea and it was in the Caribbean and when we came out it was just like glass and mother and I were both seasick. All day Sunday it was very rough and we had no service as the minister was sick in bed. We passed the *New York* about three this afternoon and as we passed our ship fired a gun and the *N.Y.* dipped her flag and I saw eight sails.

June 27: It has been a very pleasant comfortable day and I have on my light cloths and feel much more presentable. Today while I was sitting with mother and some other ladies Mr. Howard brought out of his stateroom some delicious candies and passed them round; there were three different kinds, some chocolate creams, French candies and other kinds.

There has been a mock court on deck for several days about some Angostora Bitters and it is so much fun to see some of the gentlemen come up and give their testimony. They got the purser up there and asked him what he knew about the Bitters. Instead of telling what he knew about it, everything that was asked him he answered no to.

This evening while we were sitting upon deck it looked like a squall. All of a sudden it began to rain like the mischief, thunder and lightning.

June 28: This morning I got up very early and I saw the sun rise; it was beautiful. For two or three mornings Mrs. Howard has given mother a cup of tea as she has it every morning, and it tastes very nice, so early in the morning, as we would feel faint, before half past eight, that is the time that we have breakfast. For two or three evenings past we have had some squalls and thunder and lighting and they come up so suddenly and it is such fun to see the sailors take in the sails and take down the awning.

June 29: Last night was moon light and we had some singing and it was beautiful. Some German gentlemen and had such voices I never heard.

Mother said that one of the voices sounded like Marios voice.

We have passed a good many vessels—some steamers.

June 30: This morning when I got up I felt seasick and it was very rough as we were near Cape Hatteras and I did not go to the table. I felt pretty well on deck but I could not stay down in the cabin.

This morning I played a game of chess with Mrs. Gibbs and I beat her—it is the first person I have beaten since I have played on the steamers.

July 1: This morning it is very smooth, it is just like glass and so nice and cool.

There are seven sails in sight and two steamers—I have kept count of how many vessels we have passed on this side. I have counted 43 and I don't know how many we passed in the night.

We have gone since twelve yesterday to twelve today 237 miles and we have 109 miles to go before we get into New York.

NOTES

17. By 1867, St. James Free Church (Episcopal) had an "elegant structure of their own," on the north side of Post St., between Mason and Taylor. (*S. F. Directory*, 1867.) "Free" meant that no pews were sold or rented, seats being open to all.

18. Dashaway Hall was situated on Post St., near Dupont (Grant).

19. The Rev. William Ingraham Kip, D.D., was Episcopal bishop in San Francisco at this time. Ministers at Grace Church (cor. California and Stockton streets) were the Rev. H. Goodwin; Rev. G. A. Easton; and O. Clark, D.D. (*S. F. Directory*, 1865.)

20. The diarist is probably referring to the Rev. Mr. Goodwin (note 19 above).

21. W. G. Badger of Badger & (Thomas E.) Lindenberger, agents for Chickering & Sons pianofortes, etc. Among Badger's public-spirited activities was his work as director of the 7th San Francisco School District. (*S. F. Directory*, 1865.)

22. Suscol, on Napa River about 4 miles south of Napa; also spelled "Soscol" (H. H. Bancroft, *Hist. of Calif.* [1886-90], V, 758; Erwin G. Gudde, *Calif. Place Names* [Berkeley, 1949], p. 348).

23. White Sulphur Springs: about 2 miles SW of St. Helena, and a fashionable resort at that time.

24. Rincon Hill, at time of diary, was high point near 3rd and Brannon streets where Bourn home stood. The hill has been mostly leveled, providing fill for use in vicinity and in construction of approach to Oakland-San Francisco Bay bridge.

25. Mrs. E. V. Hathaway (now deceased) and her family became prominent

residents of Berkeley, Calif., where her daughter, Mary (Mrs. George R. Greenleaf), continues to make her home.

26. In 1856 a Sunday school, sponsored by the Y. M. C. A., was established in San Francisco under William R. Wadsworth and Samuel Pillsbury, to aid the city's many underprivileged boys and girls. The Industrial School, an outgrowth of this Sunday school, was founded in 1859, about 9 miles south of town along the railroad right-of-way. In 1865, the state appropriated funds for its support.

27. The Deaf and Dumb Asylum (later, California Institution for the Deaf and the Blind) was started through the personal efforts of a few San Francisco ladies. Successive sites were, in 1860, a small building on Tehama St.; next, in Jan. 1861, at the S.W. cor. of 15th and Mission streets; after which came reorganization by the legislature and transfer of the institution to Berkeley, where it opened for instruction Oct. 1869, and where, following a destructive fire in Jan. 1875, it was rebuilt. William C. Jones, *Illustrated Hist. of the Univ. of Calif.* (San Francisco, 1895), pp. 84-96.

28. F. L. A. Pioche, a Frenchman, came to San Francisco from Chile in 1848, engaged in trade with J. B. Bayerque as partner and became wealthy. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, IV, 781; *San Francisco Directory, 1865-66;* also, Calif. Hist. Soc., information file.

29. The U. S. Branch Mint was located on the north side of Commercial St. near Montgomery; Robert B. Swain, superintendent. *S. F. Directory* as above, p. 593.

30. The "California Pioneers Society," organized in Aug. 1850, had their rooms at the N.E. cor. Montgomery and Gold streets near Jackson, where were installed "an excellent library" and "a cabinet of minerals." *S. F. Directory*, as above, p. 620.

31. An aerolite (aerolith; meteoric stone) is composed of metallic iron, alloyed with small percentage of nickel, cobalt, manganese, etc., and usually shows pitted surface with fuzed crust, caused by heat developed during rapid passage through earth's atmosphere. When polished and then etched by means of acids, various patterns appear, owing to irregular action of acids on the aerolite's different constituents.

32. Congregation Emanu El, north side of Broadway, between Powell and Mason streets; called "a noble edifice," seating about 800 persons, in *S. F. Directory, op. cit.*, p. 604.

33. St. Ignatius church, served by the Society of Jesuits connected with St. Ignatius College; north side Market St., between 4th and 5th. The old church building becoming too small, the new hall of the college was used as a church. *S. F. Directory, ibid.*

34. Philopena: a gift presented as a forfeit in a social game played in various ways; evidently a new word for the young diarist.

More on the Ewing Mutiny

By THORNTON EMMONS AND HOMER C. VOTAW

To the Editors: Many thanks for sending me the excellent article by Messrs. Emmons and Votaw. I do not intend to issue a supplementary article. The authors have had more sources than I had and have done their job so well that I do not see any reason why it should not be published in the QUARTERLY as it is.

ERWIN G. GUDDE

In the March 1951 QUARTERLY, Dr. Erwin G. Gudde gives a very excellent account of the 1849 *Ewing* mutiny on San Francisco Bay. This event entailed the manhandling and abandoning of Passed-Midshipman William Gibson in the water one night by a naval-boat crew of 5 in their attempt to desert for the gold fields.* They were later caught, and, after a general court-martial, two were hung. In commenting upon the lack of many available facts, Dr. Gudde mentions several omissions and contradictions resulting from the long-elapsed time between the mutiny and descriptive narratives. George Davidson's, for example, which was given by Gudde (p. 42) for the first time, was written 60 years afterward; Lt. Gibson's, 29; and the Rev. J. L. Ver Mehr's, 28.

Since then, however, other accounts have come to light, including a journal of Lt. George F. Emmons who was not only an executive officer of the squadron concerned, but also a member of the court-martial board that tried the case. These new sources, plus photostats and microfilms of documents, log-book entries, and even the hitherto unused court-martial record were made available to us for a unifying summary which appeared in the *U. S. Naval Institute Proceedings* of January 1956.† As much of the material parallels Dr. Gudde's annotations, about all that is needed to bring his article up-to-date is the filling-in or resolving of the omissions and contradictions he mentions.

*Names of the deserters were Jonathan Biddy, John Black, Peter Black, Henry Commerford, and William Hall.

†A reprint is on file in the Society's library.

First, there is Gibson's narrative of 1878. When compared to his sworn testimony at the 1849 court-martial, it shows the tendency for magnification to be expected with many years of re-telling. In the matter of his struggle and being struck at by oars, for instance, his actual evidence was that not a blow had been given either in the boat or water, no attempt had been made to throttle him, nor were any of the ready knives drawn. And as for recognizing and later watching his assailants, he admitted that the night was so dark he could not even make out a man's face more than an arm's length away. Only John Black was positively identified, and that because of his position in the after-seat. Gibson also agreed that his original report of the affair to Commodore Thomas Ap Catesby Jones was based on his impressions during the episode, while under emotional and physical stress. Instead of the previously-stated participation of every man in the struggle, there may have been merely "more than two." On the other hand, he stuck to his memory of the belligerent phrases, even though the defense suggested milder, similar-sounding ones were used. Yet again, he did not refute that Black's first "unintelligible muttering" might have been, "We only want to get ashore."

One cannot read this trial transcript without feeling that fate intervened to intensify the worst features of the whole event. An escape to the mines was undoubtedly planned by some if not all of the 5, true enough. But over 160 others had actually accomplished this since the previous fall. Had the usual boy midshipman been in charge, he likely would have been left ashore unarmed and unharmed, as had been the case in a couple of other instances. Similarly, had Gibson been quickly overpowered instead of falling in during the struggle, he might have been rowed to within wading distance of shore. Although there was likely some emotional urge to get rid of him in the quickest possible moment, any lingering desire for his death appears very doubtful; for, as Gibson himself pointed out, he was rather a favorite with them. And from his past performance in calm seas during the long trip to San Francisco, they knew him to be an excellent swimmer. He testified that he did come to within 50 yards of a wharf, and even touched bottom with his feet in one spot. His heavy clothing, emotional shock, exhaustion from the wrestle, and the swift tide, all worked against what would ordinarily have been an easy distance for him. Later he pleaded with the commodore for the lives of all 5.

With reference to the different number of previous flagrant deser-

tions, Emmons records several, including the one at Bodega Bay. He even states that these intensified the case against the 5, in that a strong object lesson to reverse the desertion trend was long overdue at the time of their bold action. He also refutes the assumption that the Bodega deserters were lost at sea, and adds that no proper search for the boat was made around Bodega. Indeed, it is unlikely that the practically-impossible dinghy trip around Pt. Reyes to San Francisco would have been attempted when the mines lay almost directly inland.

And the court-martial record definitely settles the rescue controversy. Instead of drifting along the side of an anchored vessel to be spotted and quickly hauled up for a return to the *Ewing*, the barely-conscious officer was rescued by a passing small boat a moment before another, hurriedly sculled from a wharf by a Captain Jacobs, reached him. Jacobs promptly took Gibson back to the wharf where some resuscitation was applied, and then to the U. S. Hotel for several days hospitalization.

Log-entries in addition to the trial testimony likewise fill in details of the deserters' capture at Pittsburg (then, "New York of the Pacific"). In an effort to reach the upper-river delta before them, the *Ewing* had left San Francisco the morning after the mutiny, and the next day became stuck on a mud bar off Pittsburg. While waiting for a high tide to help get the craft away the following morning, the crew were surprised to see a small boat approaching. It held the captain of the *Audly Clark*, a "vessel belonging to a group of miners associated for transportation purposes," who had surmised that the *Ewing* was a government vessel. He asked concerning the $2500 reward mentioned by a mounted search party that had passed through, a day previously, and said he thought the 5 were resting aboard his vessel. Two officers and a guard of marines rowed in, to identify quickly and arrest the culprits. Then a written order for the reward money was given.

The court-martial itself lasted 7 full days, and was very thorough and fair. Commodore Jones secured the town's leading attorney, Hall McAllister, for the defense; and at a rate of $100 a day. As there was no naval provision for this expenditure, Jones paid it out of his own pocket, and had to wait years for his reimbursement. McAllister removed the popularly-held stigma of premeditated murder, and established that a desire to reach the gold fields was their prime motive. But a death sentence for the undeniable acts of mutiny, manhandling an officer, refusing to aid him during the struggle, and abandoning him

in the water, was mandatory. The only hope was to shift the blame to one person; the leader John Black. The idea may have originally been Black's, for he acted in a manly fashion throughout, and evidently had some education. His written "confession" stated that it was thought Gibson could easily reach the short distance to shallow water when they left, and that he alone struggled with the officer. To soften the charge that others aided, he said that Peter Black did arise from his seat; Peter did not join in even this admission, either written or verbally.

Because of John Black's statement and McAllister's work, some form of leniency was expected by the squadron, even after the order for 5 executions was issued. The condemned were far from confident though, as was evident from their statement that the youngest of them remained aloof during the critical moments. This may have been so, for he was little more than a boy, and had the forward seat. But it certainly implied that the others did take part.

Commodore Jones may have deliberately held up his commutation of the death penalty for all except the 2 Blacks in order to stress the possible consequences of desertion, for it did not come through until nearly the last moment. John Black received the news with resignation and was evidently glad to have helped the others, but Peter was far from satisfied. The Rev. O. C. Wheeler was present to assist the chaplain, in addition to the 3 other civilian clergymen named by Davidson. This was so that each of the condemned could have had a man of God beside him at the end.

The hanging took place at the naval anchorage between San Francisco and Yerba Buena Island, *not* off Sausalito. A diagram of the vessels' positions is even given in the Emmons journal: the *Ewing*, *St. Marys*, *Savannah*, *Warren*, *Southampton*, and *Fredonia*. The 2 bodies were buried in a little cemetery on the island, and when the bay bridge was built they were transferred down the peninsula.

As Dr. Gudde points out, the Ver Mehr account is often quite inaccurate as to details. And this seems to be particularly true regarding the supposition that the 2 Blacks might have been brothers. Others beside Gibson insist this was not so, and their actions and relationships during the trial also indicate it. As to the supposed legacy, a mistake in identity or a mischievous hoax upon the reverend may have started this legend. Anyhow it smacks of the melodramatic ending often recounted in such tragic instances, along with the treasure or lost gold-mine chart left by a dying sea captain or prospector. However, just to be reasonably sure,

a fair amount of research was made through newspapers and British legacy records for an instance that might fit. Nothing was found. And speculation that some of that money might have been used to further the prosecution of Commodore Jones later is also unwarranted. There were all sorts of accusations and much vindictiveness at his court-martial, true enough, but most of them were due to officer feuding, and quite petty. He was only given a slap-on-the-wrist for taking a personal profit on the very safe purchase of gold-dust at bargain prices with government money; and then restored to full privileges and honors.

In conclusion it should again be stressed that although the mutiny was conspicuous among the few occurring in our navy, it arose from the popularly-held wish to reach the mines—not from ill-will against the service or the officer involved. And to brighten further the record of our sailors, all 5 were foreign subjects. Finally, instead of vindictiveness, the affair ended in an all-around feeling of melancholy at the inevitable fatefulness of the situation.

Bidwell Rancheria

By Anne H. Currie

Proposed termination of the federal bureau of Indian affairs, U. S. department of the interior, finds California Indians in varying states of readiness. At one extreme is the Yokayo tribe, whose story was told in this Quarterly for September 1947. Head men of that tribe, with rare foresight supported by all members of the tribe, purchased their own reservation, gaining title to it according to California law.[1]

In strong contrast is the unique situation of the Me-choop-da Rancheria, on the former Bidwell ranch at Chico. Only within the last 20 years has the rancheria come under the jurisdiction of the Indian bureau. Sheltered and protected by General Bidwell, on whose land their village had stood long before he bought Rancho del Arroyo Chico in 1849, the Chico Indians had no fear of the future. Had not General Bidwell in his will promised that they were always to live there on the rancheria?

General Bidwell's will makes his intention clear. It reads:

> To the Board of Home Missions of the Presbyterian Church, California Branch, to be used as they deem best for the benefit of the Indians residing at the Indian Village on Rancho Chico, [I give] $500.00. Also to said branch of said Board of Missions, for the permanent home of said Indians so long as they or any of them desire to live thereon, the following tract of land:

He then designated the boundaries.

But the provisions of the will were valid only if he were to outlive his wife, Annie Ellicott Kennedy Bidwell. If she were to survive him, he bequeathed to her all his property, "real, personal, or mixed, of whatever nature and wherever situated," of which he might die possessed. He gave her as executrix without bond "full power to sell any or all of his property without any Court order, at public or private sale, on such terms as she may think best and, as far as may be legally done, without any order of Court in the premises."[2]

Mrs. Bidwell did survive her husband 18 years, and the disposal of the Indian trust was thus in her hands. That the Chico Indians were safe with her could be taken for granted: from the day she came to Rancho Chico as a bride, in 1868, she had been their good angel.[3] However,

events unforeseen by her thwarted Mrs. Bidwell's intentions, and, unless wise counsel prevails, the Indians' tenure of the good land some of them still live on – valuable property almost in the heart of the city of Chico – remains uncertain.

The story of General Bidwell and his Indians dates from 1849, when young Bidwell bought from William Dickey the Mexican grant of more than 22,000 acres, known as Rancho del Arroyo Chico.[4] From the first, Bidwell protected the Indians he found on the ranch, a kindly, docile group, glad to be known among the whites as "Bidwell's Indians."[5] They were Me-choop-das, a tribe of what Stephen Powers later classified as Maidus, a great linguistic family occupying the northern Sacramento Valley. Bidwell moved the Me-choop-da village from its original site to a spot farther down the creek, where they were safer. Even before gold seekers swarmed over the country, lawless men, styled "Indian killers," shot Indians as they shot antelope or grizzly bears.[6]

Within two years after James W. Marshall's discovery of gold, troubles between Indians and whites had grown so serious in some parts of the state that by presidential act of 1850 three commissioners were sent out from Washington, D. C., to learn, if possible, what would satisfy the natives and to make treaties with them. Redick McKee, Col. George Q. Barbour, and Dr. O. M. Wozencraft, the commissioners, began in the southern part of California and worked north, negotiating treaties with tribes gathered at army posts and ranches. From March 19, 1851, to January 7, 1852, they met 402 chiefs or head men and made 18 treaties in all.[7]

Because of Bidwell's reputation for having great influence with Indians, one treaty was to be made at Rancho Chico. In May the commissioners separated, and in late July only Wozencraft went to Bidwell's ranch with an escort of mounted infantrymen of the U. S. army.[8]

The most circumstantial story of the treaty-making is told by Mrs. Emma Cooper, 80 years old, the only Maidu of unmixed blood still living on the rancheria. Her memory goes back more than a century, and includes her own experiences plus those related by others from generation to generation.

Emma's stories often deal with John Bidwell; one of the earliest relates to the treaty and runs as follows:

> Bidwell said, "Come to Bidwell Rancho. Government will give treaty." Bidwell had Indian interpreters, a man, Raphael, and a woman, Naponi. Bidwell had a stand in a grove by the creek and made a talk on the treaty. He called the head man of every tribe, called them one by one, to come up and sign. He said,

"Government will give you land, two horses, cattle, plow, harrow, wagon, money to start with." Grandpa Daniels signed for the Hooker Oak tribe, U-dow-ie, and he was one they promised things to start with. That was the Bidwell-government treaty. Bidwell wanted to keep his Indians, said he would do the same by them that the government was going to do.[9]

The tribes came at Bidwell's summons: Es-kuin from Nimshew; Hol-o-lu-pai from Oroville; To-to from Durham; Su-nu from over on the Sacramento River; Kon-kau from Yankee Hill; Me-choop-da; and others, all of them Maidus from the valley and foothills.[10]

The treaty-making took more time than Emma's story indicates. There were days of reading and explaining and nights of feasting, "Big Times," the Indians called them. Wozencraft presented the government with a bill of $8,250 for beef cattle furnished during the negotiations of the treaty at Bidwell's, with an additional $1,000 for taking care of the beef. Seventy-five cattle were consumed, with an aggregate weight of 41,250 pounds.[11]

August 1, 1851, the treaty was concluded.[12] As recorded in Kappler's *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties*, it promised all that Emma names and more. Farmers were to be sent to the reservation to show the Indians how to use the land, and teachers to conduct the school that was to be built.

The land to be "set apart for sole use and occupancy" of the Indians who signed at Bidwell rancho was described as commencing at a point on the Feather River 2 miles above Hamilton, now a shadow of a ghost town 14 miles above Marysville. The boundary of the tract ran N.W. from the Feather River to Bidwell's grant, then N.E. to a point 6 miles beyond his grant, then S.E. to the river and down the river to the point of starting. Wozencraft reported it a strip 20 miles long and 6 wide, but it is slightly more if traced on a map of Butte County.

For that strip the Indians who signed the treaty agreed to give up all claim to their former territory, how much can only be guessed.[13] As reported by Kenny, the 18 treaties together granted the California Indians 8,518,900 acres as against the whole state.[14] While the Maidus had occupied an area extending from the Sacramento River on the west to the heights of the Sierra on the east, from the American River on the south to Rock Creek and the Lassen Peak district on the north, the tribes who signed at Rancho Chico represented only a fraction of the whole.[15]

Wozencraft reported to Washington that the land assigned in the Bidwell treaty was measurably unoccupied and except for 2 or 3 small valleys very poor for agriculture.[16] Yet no sooner had word of the

treaties reached the public ear than protests arose. Quoting and taking issue with a heated letter from the San Joaquin Valley, the *Alta California* in its issue of July 26, 1851, editorially defended the commissioners:

> No doubt the lands are good—so they should be—but that does not give the covetous any right to bring complaint against the Commissioners.... The whole matter is simple. The policy of the United States has been to establish Indians upon reservations. In the Atlantic States most of these reservations are situated beyond the limits of civilization. Under the peculiar physical conformation of California and the unusually nomadic character of a large proportion of her population, that line of policy cannot be carried on here. The consequence is that the reservations must be made where the Indians at present exist. And such, as we understand it, has been the course of the Commissioners.[17]

By September, the *Alta* had to defend its position and did so vigorously September 26, declaring, "For peace it would be worth while to give the Indians even more than the treaties offer."[18]

The California legislature saw things differently. Senate and assembly each appointed a committee to look into the matter of the treaties. The members re-appraised the land the commissioners had considered practically worthless. The assembly committee was eloquent in its report. "Rich and inexhaustible veins of gold-bearing quartz," it declared, "have in the wisdom of the Indian agents been set apart for untutored tribes, and the energetic and zealous miners have been rudely ordered by these agents to abandon their claims and go beyond the limits of the reservations."[19a]

The senate special committee in a majority report resolved "that our Senators in Congress be instructed to oppose confirmation of any and all treaties made with Indians of California," and "that our Senators be instructed and our Representatives requested to use their best endeavors to procure adoption by the Federal Government of the same course toward the Indians of this State as pursued in other States for the last 25 years."[19b]

The policy referred to had been to remove Indians from within the states to portions of the public domain west of the Mississippi River not included in any state or territory. One member of the California senate committee, J. J. Warner, dissented and asked that the treaties be re-examined and amended if necessary. His voice was drowned in the clamor.

On July 8, 1852, the U. S. senate rejected the treaties secretly, one by one. For 50 years they lay forgotten by all but the Indians until clerks found them in 1905. The government then cleared them of secrecy.[19c]

Since then efforts at restitution have been made, chief among them the court of claims established by congress in 1928, in which California Indians can sue the United States for past wrongs.

In 1944 Earl Warren, then attorney-general of California, now chief-justice of the U. S. supreme court, won a $17,000,000 judgment award for losses to California Indians resulting from the unratified treaties of 1851-52. However, the federal government charged $12,000,000 as an offset because of land and other services provided since 1852. Neither the Indians nor their friends were satisfied, and other cases are now pending before the claims court.[20]

To return to the sequence of events following the signing of the treaties between the commissioners and the Indians: the government had thereupon induced the tribes to move to temporary reservations, but they were at once driven off by settlers. The homes they had left had also been taken in most instances. Thus, to quote Robert W. Kenny, "California Indian tribes became homeless vagrants, quickly reduced by eviction, starvation, murder, and disease, to 17,000 members." There had been an estimated 113,000 in 1848, at the time of the treaty with Mexico.[21]

Reprisals by the evicted Indians then made the situation worse than before. Congress was forced to act and authorized reservations, but not outside state or territory. April 13, 1853, Jefferson Davis, secretary of war, whose department had charge of Indian affairs, notified the commander, headquarters, department of the Pacific, at Benicia, as follows:

> By an Act passed at the last Session of Congress, the President is authorized to make five military reservations from the public domain, of not exceeding 25,000 acres each, in the State of California or in the territories of Utah and New Mexico, bordering on said State, with the view of removing the California Indians thereto for subsistence and protection.[22]

The first such reservation was established the next year (1854) at Nome Lackee, named for a tribe already there, 20 miles west of the town of Tehama.[23] In spite of a declaration by authorities that residence of Indians on the reserve was to be optional and that military assistance did not extend to collecting Indians and keeping them on the reservation against their will,[24] soldiers were sent to gather the Indians from the Sacramento Valley and take them across the river to Nome Lackee. The story of that first drive, and of subsequent drives to the reservation established later at Round Valley, makes a dark page on California's history. The brutality with which sick and dying Indians were left

behind to perish on the difficult trail is well attested, but the telling does not belong here. The Bidwell Indians were not on the "death march," as later generations refer to the drive.

Because of an agreement with Wozencraft, John Bidwell refused to let his Indians be taken then or later. In 1863 George M. Hanson, superintendent for Indian affairs in northern California, wrote to Washington: "The Valley Indians on the Sacramento and Feather Rivers will number from one to two thousand. Many of them are laboring for farmers and in that way are far better provided for than those I have on the reservation."[25] That statement was true of Bidwell rancheria.

From 1849 to 1868, when Mrs. Bidwell came to the rancho as a bride, the Me-choop-das lived much as they had always done. Bidwell made attempts to "civilize" them, without much effect. He put them to work developing his ranch and put clothes on them to protect them while they were at work, but he didn't succeed in making them like to live in frame houses. They preferred their own dome-shaped, partly underground, mud-covered lodges, *kum*.[26] They had their own "assembly hall," known to the whites as "sweat house," built like their houses, but larger. It was a characteristic feature of California Indian villages, the center of religious dances and ceremonies as well as a meeting house for the men. The "Great Ones" had told them never to give up their assembly hall.[27]

In 1863 occurred a crisis that almost defeated Bidwell. Indians in the hills murdered three children, out gathering berries, and Butte County rose up in arms. A group of 500 men met at the Pentz ranch, between Chico and Oroville, and demanded that every Indian be removed from Butte County. Superintendent Hanson (see above), stationed at San Francisco, hurried to the scene, summoned by John Bidwell and one of his own employees.

Hanson wrote later that the gathering was made up of the most infuriated men he had ever met. He tried to tell them that the deed was reprisal for the murder of 5 Indians by whites a short time before, but the enraged citizens of Butte would not listen. They sent out orders for every Indian in the county to report at Bidwell rancho within a definite time or be killed.[28]

General Bidwell, only that year made brigadier-general, California militia, by Gov. Leland Stanford, pleaded for his Indians, declaring he knew them to be innocent. His plea was in vain. He could only send word to the Me-choop-das to run to the river, 7 miles from the ranch,

and to stay there till the trouble was over. He later said that hiding at the river was all that saved them.

Emma Cooper tells the story as it came down to her. True in the main, it has the exaggeration of panic:

> Soldiers started to kill every Indian. Raphael [Bidwell's interpreter] told the Bidwell Indians to run to the river. All ran. A boat came along and threw them some food. The Indians stayed quite a while. Raphael would go down at night and say, "Don't come out. They are killing every Indian—Me-choop-da, Hooker Oak, Nimshew." After a while Raphael told them, "Now you can come out. John Bidwell has letter from Government that there is to be no more killing of Indians." Lots of those who came for the treaty were killed. Others who ran to the river were saved.[29]

The next year, General Bidwell was sent to congress as representative from California. There he met and won as his bride Annie Ellicott Kennedy, member of a distinguished Washington family and herself a gifted young lady. They were married in 1868, and the general brought her to the handsome home he had built for her, "The Mansion" to everyone even to this day.

During Mrs. Bidwell's lifetime the Indians made real strides toward becoming "civilized," toward living like the white man. General Bidwell removed the village farther from the mansion, as the wailings over the dead were more than Mrs. Bidwell could endure. Gradually she won the confidence and devotion of her wards, and more and more they gave up their native customs and developed unsuspected gifts and skills. The women were already among the most proficient of Indian basket-makers.

Members of the village slowly gave up their half-underground dwellings and consented to live in the frame houses the general built for them, though some kept the dirt floors.

The last to go was the assembly hall, the "sweat-house," traditional center of their religious observances. As most of the village had given at least lip service to her religion, Mrs. Bidwell doubtless thought it time to put an end to the dances that to her were heathen atrocities. In 1906 she asked them to give up their dances, and the sweat-house fell into disuse and decay.

When Mrs. Bidwell died, in 1918, it was found that in 1909 she had deeded to the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions in trust for the Indians the tract of land General Bidwell had meant for them, the land on which the village was situated. The deed was to be kept in escrow

during her lifetime. With the deed she had included a map showing the tract, with lots divided and numbered. The deed read that the Board of Home Missions should recognize the validity of possessory rights granted by Mrs. Bidwell to individual Indians as evidenced by certificates of title.[30]

June 4, 1909, she had issued a certificate of title, #17, to Mr. and Mrs. Santa Wilson, as follows:

> In consideration of $1.00 I hereby grant and convey to Mr. and Mrs. Santa Wilson, of Me-choop-da Village, and to their descendants and heirs during their natural lives a tract of land described as Lot 25 of Me-choop-da Subdivision of the John Bidwell Rancho on a map of April 30, 1909.[31]

There is no doubt that certificates of title to the other lots were given at the same time, but in 1934 the only one known to have been preserved was in the hands of Mrs. Wilson's son, Elmer Lafonso. In that year serious questions of taxation arose after the death of Guy Kennedy, Mrs. Bidwell's nephew, who, with the Wells Fargo Bank of San Francisco, was co-executor of her estate.

The legacy to the Presbyterian Board of Missions proved a burden. By her will, Mrs. Bidwell had added another tract of 14 acres, to be held by them as an endowment in trust for the Indians. Above all, she left the board her beautiful home and grounds for establishment of a co-educational school.[32] The board refused to accept title to any of the property, saying it had no funds available for administration of the trust. In 1923 the state of California purchased the mansion and grounds as an adjunct to Chico State College.

Some time after Mrs. Bidwell's death, the 14 acres left as endowment were included in a tract annexed to the city of Chico and became subject to a sewer tax. City and county taxes and special assessments had all been paid during Guy Kennedy's lifetime, when the executors supposed the title would revert to the estate. In early fall, 1933, after Kennedy's death in May of that year, the remaining executors gave notice that they would no longer pay.

March 21, 1934, the Rev. Harris Pillsbury, pastor of Bidwell Memorial Church (Presbyterian), Chico, learning that the land would be sold for taxes if delinquent after April 20, took steps to save it. Butte County supervisors agreed to waive taxes if the land could be transferred to the United States or to some other municipal or political subdivision. All agreed that placing the Bidwell rancheria under the federal bureau of Indian affairs would be the best solution.[33]

An undated petition in the files of the Sacramento area office of the Indian bureau must have been sent during the discussions:

> We the undersigned members of Me-choop-da Village do hereby duly appoint Isaiah Conway and Elmer Lafonso to represent us, especially in regard to our homes and any other matter that pertains to our interest. We also solemnly plea and ask through our representatives that we be given legal advise or attorney, as the case may be, from the Government.[34]

The plea was signed by 15 members of the village.

Whether in response to the request or not, the U. S. attorney-general did direct the U. S. district attorney for the northern district of California to act as attorney for the Indians. In February 1935, Judge Harry Deirup, in the superior court of the state of California and for the county of Butte, decided that the Indian trusts were charitable and valid and that a new trustee must be appointed rather than that the trusts be dissolved. He declared: "Mrs. Bidwell had in mind the Indian tribe itself. She desired to perpetuate and protect it. The persons to whom she gave certificates of title were the only living representatives of the tribe, the culture of which she desired to preserve."[35]

March 25, 1935, in a decree of partial distribution of the estate of Annie Ellicott Kennedy Bidwell, Judge Deirup appointed Harris Pillsbury trustee over the Me-choop-das and their property, with the understanding that he would transfer the trusteeship to the United States when the Indian bureau had money to proceed.[36] On May 25, 1935, the estate transferred the trusts to Pillsbury.[37]

There was delay before the government could accept the trusts. Money thought available for the purchase was found to have reverted to the treasury under a "Bill Discontinuing Recurring Appropriations." In lieu of that, by act of August 8, 1937, an unexpended balance of an appropriation for "Purchase of land for landless Indians of California," dated March 3, 1925, was re-appropriated and a special fund amounting to $5,004.25 was made available.[38]

November 3, 1937, the assistant-secretary, department of the interior, sent word granting authority to spend up to $3,000 in clearing the title.[39] The sum included $2,041.39, total sewer tax levy, to be held in escrow and paid out yearly as the tax became due.

More than a year later (January 7, 1939), Harris Pillsbury, trustee, signed an indenture that made the United States trustee over the Bidwell Indians and their lands to the north and south of Sacramento Avenue.[40]

On February 16, the same year, the Presbyterian Board of Home Missions also signed an indenture relinquishing all interest in the trusts.[41]

That fall, October 19, the Sacramento area office of the Indian bureau notified Harris Pillsbury, "We are at last in position to make final payment on the Chico land."[42]

On the 21st, Trustee Pillsbury sent his voucher with the note, "With great joy I look forward to the completion of this trust."[43]

Thus the Me-choop-das became "wards of the Government," a situation never dreamed of by General and Mrs. Bidwell.

Unlike most small reserves, the Bidwell rancheria land is valuable. In 1934 the 14 acres south of Sacramento Avenue were assessed for taxation at $200 an acre and have increased measurably in value since. At present only the north portion, outside the city limits, is occupied. There are home sites, the little church where Mrs. Bidwell preached to the Indians, and the cemetery, to which all who die are still returned for burial. There is water on that side, but no sewerage system.

The bureau renders no social services to the Indians, its trust extending only to the land. County welfare services are available to members, and the children attend Chico public schools. Young Indians have made good records in both high school and college.

In December 1955, officials of the Sacramento area office made the following estimate of costs to effect withdrawal of federal trusteeship over the rancheria: Land survey, $1,100; legal assistance, $3,000; land appraisal, $1,300; programing and planning, $3,000. An item of $10,000 for road construction on the land has been included in the 1958 budget of the bureau.[44]

With termination of federal supervision over their land in the offing, the Bidwell Indians recognized that a new era had opened for them. To negotiate, they must act as a group. They took the first steps by electing officers and appointing an executive committee. Carl Delgado, principal of a public elementary school at Lower Lake, California, was chosen president; Sherman Wilson, resident on the rancheria, vice-president; Mrs. Genevieve Lafonso Aranda, housewife living in Chico but off the reserve, secretary. The 3 are direct descendants of leading Me-choop-das Mrs. Bidwell found when she came to the rancho.

In December 1955, in a mass meeting, members of the village met with representatives of the Indian bureau and voted to request the U. S. government to give them fee patent to their rancheria land, with parcels surveyed, so that each might have a legal description of his lot. They further asked for help in organizing an entity to take title to and to manage whatever land would be held in common.[45]

Yet for some that step was taken timidly. In a recent newspaper interview, Emma Cooper voiced the fear that besets many dwellers on rancherias of the state at the thought of independence:

> A Government man came. There was a meeting and everybody signed, asking to have their own piece of land, so I signed too. Then other white people came and said, "Emma, you'll have to pay taxes. You will be thrown out of land. You will have no house any more." So, I don't know.[46]

The tentative steps taken have so far led nowhere. First dependent on General Bidwell, then on Mrs. Bidwell, those living in the village developed no responsibility as a group, no tribal unity. With many advantages over less-privileged tribes, under the Indian bureau they still have had no experience in making group decisions unaided.

One serious problem is that of deciding who are entitled to share in the distribution of the property. If the certificates-of-title Mrs. Bidwell gave could be found, they would be helpful, though even if found they would have no legal status. They were not recorded in official documents in Oroville.

Another approach would be through Mrs. Bidwell's will. In it she left small legacies to individual Indians, and one proposal is to divide the land and other assets among those named in the will, or to their heirs. Some Me-choop-das, unquestionably entitled to share, would narrow the list still more to those not only named in the will but also living on the rancheria now. Either plan would exclude needy Indians who have lived there for years. The second plan would exclude some named in the will who are living outside and who have done well for themselves in the white man's world. The last group want a share in the land only because it is "home" to them.

When Clair Engle in 1957 included Chico in a bill he introduced in the U. S. house of representatives to distribute land and assets of certain rancherias in his district,[47] end of federal supervision came close to Me-choop-da Village, but Representative Engle withdrew the bill before it was out of committee. In that way, Bidwell Indians have gained more time in which to settle their differences and, if they choose, to seek disinterested help in planning to meet the obligations as well as the privileges that will follow ownership of their rancheria.

NOTES

1. Charles Kasch in *Calif. Hist. Soc. Quarterly*, XXVI (Sept. 1947), pp. 209-15.

2. Will of Gen. John Bidwell, probated May 1, 1900 (files of clerk of Butte County, Oroville, Calif.).

3. Rockwell D. Hunt, *California in the Making* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1953), p. 81.

4. Charles C. Royce, *John Bidwell—Pioneer, Statesman, Philanthropist* (Chico, Calif., 1906), p. 44.

5. Stephen Powers, *Indian Tribes of California* (Washington, D. C., 1877), p. 401.

6. John Bidwell, *Echoes of the Past* (Chico *Advertiser*, 1906), p. 79; Annie E. K. Bidwell, "The Me-choop-das" *(Overland Monthly*, Feb., 1896), p. 205; Royce, *op. cit.*, p. 62.

7. *Sen. Ex. Doc. 1*, 31st Cong. (1850-1851), 2nd sess., p. 41; Robert W. Kenny, *History and Proposed Settlement of Indian Claims in California* (Sacramento, 1944), p. 10.

8. *Sen. Ex. Doc. 4*, 33rd Cong., spec. sess. (March 4, 1853), pp. 76 and 82.

9. Present author's conversation with Emma Cooper, Bidwell rancheria.

10. Charles J. Kappler, *Indian Affairs: Laws and Treaties (Sen. Doc. 73*, 70th Cong., IV), pp. 1105-1106.

11. Note 8 above, p. 189; A. E. K. Bidwell, *op. cit.*, p. 205.

12. Note 8 above, p. 133.

13. Kappler, note 10 above, pp. 1105-1106.

14. Kenny, note 7 above, p. 11.

15. Roland B. Dixon, *The Northern Maidu (Bull. Am. Museum Nat. Hist.*, XVII, pt. III, 1905), p. 124.

16. Note 8 above, p. 133.

17. *Alta California*, San Francisco, July 26, 1851.

18. *Ibid.*, Sept. 26, 1851.

19*a-c*. Kenny, *op. cit.*, pp. 1, 13, 14, 17.

20. American Friends Service Committee, *Indians of California—Past and Present* (San Francisco, 1956), pp. 14-15.

21. Kenny, *op. cit.*, p. 21.

22. *House Ex. Doc. 76*, 34th Cong., 3rd sess., p. 79.

23. *Ibid.*, p. 88.

24. *Ibid.*, p. 90.

25. *House Ex. Doc. 1*, 38th Cong., 1st sess., p. 213.

26. A. E. K. Bidwell, note 6 above, p. 205; Royce, note 4 above, p. 61.

27. Powers, note 5 above, pp. 284, 297; R. F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple, comp. and ed., *The California Indians, a Source Book* (Univ. of Calif. Press, 1951), "Elements of Culture in Native California" by A. L. Kroeber, p. 10.

28. Sim Moak, *The Last of the Mill Creeks* (Chico, Calif., 1923), p. 14; Rockwell D. Hunt, *John Bidwell, Prince of California Pioneers* (Caldwell, Idaho, 1942), p. 139; *House Ex. Doc. 1*, as in note 25 above.

29. See note 9 above.
30. Book of Deeds (official records of Butte County), #169, p. 391.
31. Copy in files of Sacramento area office, U. S. bur. Indian affairs.
32. Will of Annie E. K. Bidwell, probated May 6, 1918 (files of clerk of Butte County, Oroville); Book of Deeds, *op. cit.*, #140, p. 205; *ibid.*, #169, p. 197.
33. Files, Sacramento area office, note 31 above.
34. *Ibid.*
35. *Ibid.*
36. Official records of Butte County, #138, p. 409.
37. *Ibid.*, p. 407.
38. *Public Laws 249*, 75th Cong., 1st sess., p. 11.
39. Files, Sacramento area office, Indian bureau.
40. Official records of Butte County, #225, p. 113.
41. *Ibid.*, #212, p. 418.
42-43. Files, Sacramento area office, Indian bureau.
44. *Hearings before the Subcommittee on Indian Affairs of the Committee on Interior and Insular Affairs, House of Representatives*, 85th Cong. (May 2-June 7, 1957), 1st sess., p. 24.
45. *Ibid.*
46. Sacramento *Bee*, June 1, 1957.
47. *H. R. 6364*, 85th Cong., 1st sess.

John G. Downey as one of the "Kings"

By Julia H. Macleod

In the late 1880's, when Hubert Howe Bancroft was bringing to a close the research for his monumental *Works*, his practical mind devised a method of using some of the material accumulated for the histories of California and the other western states, but not fully exploited in those volumes. Figuring largely in the material were the "dictations" obtained by his agents, whose purpose had been not only to gather information for the later periods of the histories but to entice the contributors into subscribing for the 37 volumes of the set. The new series, under the title *Chronicles of the Kings*, would present the lives of "captains of industry" and of political figures—the people with power, the real leaders—in their proper setting.[1] It would not be merely a collection of detached biographies, but would give character studies of such men, along with their contemporaries, in the framework of history.

Potential "kings" would be urged to contribute their life stories as an inspiration to the community and as a duty to their families and to themselves; the record of their achievements, handsomely bound, with steel or wood engravings, would serve as an added monument to their success. Only the elect would be included. The prospectus clearly stated that "none entitled to insertion should be omitted and . . . none not so entitled should be introduced." The subscriber would get the seven volumes of the "Kings," and, if his subscription was sufficient, he would get a specially-bound copy of his own biography and portrait. Accordingly, agents were engaged to seek out those whose careers might advantageously be included and whose subscriptions would be sufficient to ensure the success of the publication.

John G. Downey, southern California capitalist and former governor of California, was one of the first approached by Edwin W. Fowler, Bancroft's Los Angeles agent.[2] On November 15, 1888, Fowler forwarded to the History Company's offices in San Francisco the governor's dictated statement and order for a $5,000 biography and portrait, with a set of the *Chronicles of the Kings* in full Russia leather bindings.

The autobiographical dictation states that Downey was born in Roscommon County, Ireland, in 1827, the son of Dennis Downey and his wife, the former Bridget Gately; that he had been born in his grandfather's house, known as Castle Sampson, built from the stones of an old Norman castle. The governor then goes on, somewhat less grandly, to tell how he had done all sorts of farm work as a boy and that his experiences there had made him always satisfied, wherever he went, with what he got to eat. He had come to America in 1842, attended school in Maryland for a year, worked in drugstores in Washington, Vicksburg, and Cincinnati and joined the gold rush in 1849. He came to California via the Isthmus, then spent a short time in the mines and in San Francisco before deciding in 1850 to settle in Los Angeles. At first he was associated in the drug business with a Dr. Macfarland from Tennessee. With the proceeds from this successful venture – the only drugstore between San Francisco and San Diego – he began to invest in land and real estate. The Downey block in Los Angeles and the community of Downey were named for him; Anaheim honors his sister. He was first associated in banking with James A. Hayward, and later, with I. W. Hellman, founded the Farmers' and Merchants' Bank. Although a Catholic he donated ground for the Methodist "University of Southern California." But the high point of his career was to become governor of California in 1860 at the age of thirty-two, just ten years after he had arrived practically penniless. At the end of the dictated statement is a personal description (identity of writer uncertain): "5 ft. 6 inches high; square build; complexion fair; color of hair Auburn; at present white. Eyes are deep and keen; hazel in color. Manner of address quick, concise and to the point. Very forceful."

Fowler's explanatory letter, however, with its suggestions as to how the biography should be treated, gives a slightly different picture of Governor Downey in the year 1888.

> . . . The material he furnished is not as abundant as I would like to have had it but it is as abundant as I could procure owing to the Governor's feeble condition. This conjointly with the dictation which . . . I enclose, together with "John G. Downey, 7th Governor of California" by Oscar T. Shuck, and other material which you of necessity must have in the Library relating to his career will I think be found all that is required for the preparation of such a biography as he should have. It should be made to cover not less than fifteen pages of printed matter. Observe that Gov. Downey, early in life, became possessed of the ambition to own broad acres.

He goes on to describe the vision Downey had for the development of

Los Angeles, both city and county, and his generosity, especially the gift of land to the University of Southern California, which "he informs me today would sell under the hammer for over a million dollars"; but Fowler adds, "This may be a little overdrawn." He hoped that what he sent would be sufficient for the writing of the biography, and that "Gov. John G. Downey may take that prominent place in C[hronicles of the] K[ings] which he so richly merits."

A further note from Fowler complains about the picture from which the engraved portrait was to be made:

> Since writing you this morning . . . Gov. Downey and his new wife have called at my office and furnished me with the only picture in existence and the only one from which they are willing to have a steel engraving made. Why they pasted it in his book is more than I can tell, but we can't get a duplicate photograph in this case and you will have to do with this. I presume you will have to cut it out in order to send it East though I promised to return both photograph and book to them. I see very plainly the reason they want the engraving made from this photo, it being because it is younger than Gov. Downey is at present and it flatters him. It is no use talking to them about getting another taken; they positively will not do it.

With the material supplied by his agent, Hubert Howe Bancroft set to work. There is a brief preliminary draft by one of his staff, but the draft of the final version of the biography is in Bancroft's handwriting. Whole sections of the transcript of Oscar T. Shuck's brief biography of Downey, published in the San Francisco *Alta*, February 6, 1886, were cut out and pasted in (source not cited) at appropriate intervals. Bancroft, with many flowery phrases, describes the Norman-castle birthplace and illustrious ancestors of the governor, his early life and struggles for an education, his journey to California in the gold rush and his decision to settle in Los Angeles.

The historian gave in detail Downey's various successful enterprises in southern California: the drug business, the land purchases and profitable subdivisions, the Downey block in Los Angeles, and the banking ventures. In writing of the governorship, to which Downey succeeded at the resignation of Milton S. Latham to become senator from California, Bancroft leaned heavily on the article by Shuck. The account of Downey's veto of the "Bulkhead Bill," which would have given the San Francisco Dock and Wharf Company (in which Levi Parsons held a powerful interest) control of the San Francisco waterfront, is quoted at great length.

The proof sheets of the biography were submitted to Downey for approval. The former governor made a few corrections including the discreet change of the word "ancestors" to "relatives" in a sentence referring to the fact that the priesthood, to which his sisters had hoped he might aspire, had been a family tradition. Satisfied with the article, he signed his name at the end. On the back of the last sheet is the terse note by one of the staff: "Keep in safe till 5 M is paid."

All was not smooth sailing for the *Chronicles of the Kings*. Fowler cited some of the difficulties in obtaining subscriptions in his letter of November 1, 1888. It was hard to gauge how much a man would be willing to pay to be listed among the "Kings." He had accepted a $1,000 order for a biography with wood-engraved portrait and set of the *Chronicles* in half-Russian leather, when he might have held out for a $2,500 order "in a determined manner. But I yielded too soon." It has even been suggested that quite a number of subscribers defaulted on their pledges. Perhaps not as many men wished to be kings as Bancroft had supposed. However, the publication appeared in 1892 with a more restrained foreword and under the title, *Chronicles of the Builders of the Commonwealth*. John G. Downey's life story was Chapter IV in the second volume – among the leaders in government.

Horace Bell, in his *On the Old West Coast*,[3] adds a footnote. He relates that when Downey's check for $5,000 was presented by Bancroft's agent for payment at the First National Bank of Los Angeles, Edward F. Spence, the president, refused to honor it. "I am Downey's business agent," he is reputed to have said, "and if this is the sort of thing he is spending his money for he is incompetent to manage his own affairs."

Nevertheless the money was paid, as John W. Caughey states in his biography of Bancroft.[4] A list of the subscribers to the *Chronicles*, together with the amounts they paid, was compiled by a member of Bancroft's staff,[5] and shows that the full subscription was honored. Spence himself was approached and supplied information: a glowing biography in the handwriting of "General" Lionel A. Sheldon (who aided E. W. Fowler in obtaining "prospects" in southern California) and a fragment of page-proof, remain as evidence.[6] However, since no biography of Spence was included in the published series he may not have wished to be considered a "King" or a "Builder"; but he could hardly have repudiated his client's agreement.

NOTES

1. The History Co., San Francisco, [Prospectus for Hubert Howe Bancroft's Chronicles of the Kings (later *Chronicles of the Builders . . .*). San Francisco, 1889?], Bancroft Library.

2. Hubert Howe Bancroft, History of the life of John G. Downey [and material for its preparation. 1886-1889], manuscripts, Bancroft Library.

3. Horace Bell, *On the Old West Coast . . .*, ed. by Lanier Bartlett (New York . . ., 1930), p. 288.

4. John Walton Caughey, *Hubert Howe Bancroft; Historian of the West . . .* (Univ. Calif. Press, 1946), pp. 320-21.

5. Harry Bishop Hambly, [Information for the Bancroft Library . . .], manuscripts, Bancroft Library.

6. [Biography of Edward Fallis Spence . . . 1888?], manuscripts, Bancroft Library.

Philosophy in California to 1906
and some of its Antecedents

By Elmo A. Robinson

It would seem that for a subject such as the above, the opening paragraphs should be given over to questions and answers, a method not unused before in philosophy and one that tends to show up what Socrates once called "old safe" ideas.[1] What, for instance, is meant by "philosophy"—how do you recognize it; how old is it in California; is there a statue to it, such as Paul the apostle found in Athens—"To the Unknown God"—in the first century A. D.;[2] or like the one Rodin made at the turn of the present century and labeled "The Thinker"? If so, is there a marker on the highways crossing state boundaries pointing to it, and is the mileage given?

To a philosopher, the mileage would be interesting, for to him, according to Oliver Goldsmith, "no circumstance, however trifling, is too minute."[3] As derived from the Greek, the word philosophy means *love of wisdom.* The first syllable is of such common comprehension, presumably at least, that it can be passed over quickly. But what is "wisdom"? So compacted a subject, so diverse in its implications, was acknowledged, by those who first endeavored to pursue it, to require specialists—students who would devote their talents to investigating the material universe, the minds and souls of the investigators themselves, and God, the ultimate ground or author of all things. In other words, man the moth set himself the task of spanning Omnipotence and measuring "might that knows no measure."[4] The philosopher, with all the findings of these special investigations at hand, was then supposed to use them to form sound judgments as to the particular content of each and to determine where man, as part of the cosmos, stood among them. But in attempting this task, "never," said Epictetus, "proclaim yourself a philosopher nor make much talk among the ignorant about your principles, but . . . be for the most part silent. For there is great danger in hastily throwing out what is undigested."[5]

To begin at the real beginning of the subject in California, one should ask how long has *Homo sapiens* (the reasoning biped) been a resident of this part of the world? Some authorities figure that he has been here for at least 8600 years;[6] and when one thinks that during the Pleistocene the ice lay 2000-odd feet deep in Yosemite Valley,[7] man must have had to use all his grit as well as his "philosophy" to persist in surviving. But relics of his handiwork remain, and they show alteration in customs, such as the change in position of bodies at burial, from the extended position to the flexed.[8] What growth in thought-processes prompted the change? Was "philosophy" at work? What of the geometric designs outlined with gravels on level surfaces in the Lake Mohave discoveries or "finds," reckoned as having been coincident with the beginning of the glacial retreat?—Geometry was one of the so-called 7 liberal arts in the classic tradition, along with logic, rhetoric, astronomy, etc.

According to Aristotle, it was owing to wonder that men began to philosophize; wonder at first about the problems that lay close by, and then, little by little, advancing to the greater perplexities such as the creation of the universe.[9] Tracing the little-by-little steps in the transformation of ideas into practices in a region can be as important as tracing their subsequent arrangement into systems, and just as important as tracing the much-earlier beginnings of man's *physical* advance—his acquisition of erect posture and the improvement in his legs and gait whereby he was enabled to set his feet squarely on the ground (his very name *Homo*, is derived from the Latin *Humus*, ground), and thus to escape from the confines of the forests. When this was happening in California, there were no *Sequoia gigantea* (maximum age 2017 to 2177 years)[10] for pre-*Homo sapiens* to dangle from; but, in the years that followed the melting of the ice and the growth in his own brain-capacity, man improved his tools and consequently his hunting methods. His food, being thus made easier to get, he had more time for leisure, for reflection—for philosophizing.

Coming closer to the present, in January 1815 Father Estévan Tapis arrived at San Juan Bautista Mission. He was not only musically trained and a linguist, familiar with several Indian languages, but he was also ". . . remarkably wise in his relations with his fellow-men . . .,"[11] thus satisfying, it would seem, Plato's criterion as to the qualities "which distinguish even in youth the philosophical nature from the unphilosophical," namely, "whether a man is just and gentle, or rude and unsociable."[12] Preceding and overlapping Father Tapis at San Juan

Bautista was another priest, fitted also to be a voice "crying in the wilderness" like their mission's patron saint. This was Father Felipe Arroyo de la Cuesta, about whose "great learning and piety" there was general agreement.[13] To refresh these studious men was the mission's library,[14] containing such volumes as Francisco Echarri's *Moral Guide*, published at Madrid in 1755 (republished in 1794), and a work by Francisco Henno on dogmatic, moral, and scholastic theology, in 8 volumes and a supplement, written in Latin and dating from 1768 and 1785. Another treatise in Latin was by Para, published at Mexico City in 1809. In it, in addition to the nature of God, the human soul was discussed—its spirituality, liberty, and natural faculties—while the final chapter dealt with matter metaphysically observed.

What of the mentality of the Franciscans' pupils at Mission San Juan and at the other missions—the first classes to be registered in "moral philosophy" in California? While some early-day observers complained that the Indians they saw lived "like beasts, without making use of reason or discourse" (a condition brought about possibly by their living ". . . on ground squirrels, mice, and other vermin"),[15] others were unwilling to imply that the natives were "incapable of work demanding reflection and judgment."[16] On the contrary, their apparent "torpor" seemed, said the reports, to be "due to the fact that they have not used the faculties which they possess"; when it was put up to them to use those faculties, the Indians were "not unable to learn and understand." From experience with their own gifts of imagination, the idea of a supernatural power involved in their particular cosmos posed no difficulty for the Indians. There were among them so-called shamans or "doctors," who supposedly could, after undergoing rigorous fasting, dreams and/or "pains," influence the course of things.[17] The Indian languages contained certain formal conceptions; and though they were inelastic as to metaphors[18] (which would have been helpful and a relief to thought), we know that the early Greek philosophers also had their semantic, other than metaphoric, difficulties.[19] Native Indian art, however, was loquacious enough, metaphorically speaking, to make up for lingual lapses. The same nature that had taught them to eat, to move their hands and feet, to remember and to understand, had likewise unfolded to her children on the Pacific coast, as she had done earlier along the Mediterranean, how they might give their thoughts tangible form.[20] For example, various petroglyphic designs; the patterns woven into the native basketry; the means employed for personal adornment such as painting

the skin, the wearing of shell-tips and feathers of different colors, etc.; the use of flowers in small baskets for burial decorations, which, when the bases of the baskets had rotted away, would spring into bloom through the opening at the top, a sign that the deceased had reached Paradise—all these being evidences that a spiritual need to express what to them seemed beautiful, lay behind each decorative or aesthetic impulse.[21]

As to ideas of government among the tribes, the Yuroks had set up standards of conduct, or ethics, toward one another in which the individual was emphasized, all rights and possessions, as well as wrongs, involving individuals and not the community; consequently, there was no punishment prescribed, because the existence of a community that would act as the punishing agency was not recognized. Furthermore (and a step more subtle), if an individual took it into his own hands to inflict punishment for a wrong committed against him, morally justified though it might seem, this would expose him to a new liability, causing 2 liabilities to exist where there had been but one before.[22]

In prescribing the sequences to be followed during certain of their rites, the Yuroks also showed analytical thought. For example, what anthropologists call the "earth renewal rite" had for its purpose the re-establishment of the earth and its fruits and the element of fire. These Indians had, in other words, advanced not only toward "the greater perplexities" offered by the visible universe, but, so far as they were concerned, they were seeing to it that the universe continued to be stable, permanent.[23] As to music, or what has been called "the auditive universe," among the California Indians' contributions to it was a kind of Jews' harp, said to have been played ("tapped") when an individual wished to converse with spirits. Some tribes also had what answered the purpose of a flute, played for self-recreation and in courtship.[24]

This acquaintance, even if limited, with non-worldly matters on the part of the Indians would have enabled them to recognize, and be impressed by, the absorption of their teachers when at their devotions and while attending to their administrative duties, and would have contributed (if one's own school-day experiences count for anything) toward making them more amenable to instruction. According to Fermin Lasuen, father-president of the missions from 1785 to 1803, only under the supervision of the missionaries could the natives "be induced to change their habits."[25] That supervision was based on the religious methods of an ancient, world-wide instructional body, the

Catholic Church, which an authoritative source has called "the most psychological of all organizations," and which had "adopted Aristotle, for he was the master of St. Thomas Aquinas philosophically as Vergil was the master of Dante poetically"[26]—Aristotle, who said that it was "the function of the philosopher to be able to investigate all things."[27]

As for freedom to investigate all things, one instance of it, pushed forward to the 19th century, would most certainly have interested the shade of Aristotle, namely, the question of the progress the Franciscans' "first classes in moral philosophy" (as we have called them) in California would have made if their instruction in agriculture and certain crafts, in addition to religion, had not been ended by an edict in 1834 providing for secularization of the missions; if, that is, instead of being cut off, the Franciscans' pupils had been allowed to pursue the curriculum their instructors had planned for them. Such an investigation would have been greatly complicated not only by the international politics that had preceded secularization by some dozen years, viz., the change from Spanish to Mexican rule throughout Alta California in 1822, but by the ferment in political and intellectual conditions that had been coming to a head in Europe and in the New World for three-quarters of a century—upheavals set in motion by men who had once been members of classes in moral philosophy in the schools and universities of Europe, and of which Mexico's separation from Spain was but a far-western manifestation. Complicating the investigation, further, would have been the next move, the passing of former Alta California into the permanent hands of the United States, a change in political status which was accompanied in its early stages by a kind of philosophy of expediency, which did not look with disfavor on the idea of getting rid of the Indian instead of treating him as a self-respecting economic unit while the saving of his soul was in progress.[28]

Whereas, in 1791, on the Atlantic side of the continent, François René de Chateaubriand had found in the "Red Indians" appealing possibilities for romance,[29] his compatriot Alexis H. C. de Toqueville, commissioned by the French government in 1831 to inquire into American penitentiary practices, reported that a downright literalness of mind pervaded all the white inhabitants.[30] As for philosophy, European schools concerned with the subject meant nothing to the Americans. (To put it in colloquial, non-de Tocquevillean language, "No sapheads —no over-sapient Homo sapiens for them!") Nevertheless, said the Frenchman, they had a philosophy of their own, "school"-less though it might appear to be:

to evade the bondage of system and habit . . . to accept . . . existing facts only as a lesson used in doing otherwise, and doing it better; to seek the reasons of things for one's self and in one's self alone . . . As they perceive that they succeed in resolving . . . difficulties . . ., they readily conclude that everything in the world may be explained . . . which leaves them but little faith for whatever is extraordinary, and an almost insurmountable distaste for whatever is supernatural. . . . they like to discern the object which engages their attention with extreme clearness . . . this leads them to condemn forms, which they regard as . . . inconvenient veils placed between them and the truth. . . . The Americans then have not required to extract their philosophical method from books; they have found it in themselves.

The foregoing—where, according to de Tocqueville, it was the man-in-the-street of the 1830's in America who was criticizing the man-in-the-study—would seem to be the reverse of the situation at Athens when "certain philosophers of the Epicureans, and of the Stoics," were the ones who were calling names: "What," they asked among themselves concerning Paul the apostle, "What will this babbler say?"[31]

One wonders whether, in delivering his opinion on American habits of thought, de Tocqueville had in mind John Locke's (1632-1704) essay, "Of Principles," where he spoke of the danger the possessor of one-track mentality ran: take from such an individual the rules on which he has been accustomed to base his conclusions, and he will straightway be at a loss. To start again and try to enlarge his understanding, will require, Locke said, "more time and pains than grown men, settled in their course of life, will allow to it. . . ." But there is no other way; practice alone can perfect the understanding. Then Locke, the Englishman, assumed, as did de Tocqueville, the Frenchman a century and a half later, a disparaging attitude toward the New World: "The Americans are not at all born with worse understandings than the Europeans, though we see none of them have such reaches in the arts and sciences."

Old World commentators to the contrary, the "reach" of philosophy—wise old step-grandmother to the arts and sciences, of which Nature herself, long-time "Mother," is the real Grandma—had been evident in American affairs from the beginning. See, for instance, the "Mayflower Compact" (Nov. 11, 1620), with its realization of the need for "a civill body politick";[32] or the proceedings of the congress of 1774, which an Englishman later than Locke characterized as having shown "solidity of reasoning, force of sagacity, and wisdom of conclusion."[33]

Among other ways in which an interest, direct or indirect, in philos-

ophy had been manifested in the easterly sections of the country, for many years prior to the California gold-discovery of 1848, are the following: as early as 1726 a professorship of mathematics and natural and experimental philosophy was established at Harvard College;[34] some 50 years later, Ezra Stiles, president of Yale College from 1778 to 1795, enlivened his administrative duties by lecturing on astronomy and moral philosophy;[35] while his successor as president, Timothy Dwight, enlivened his by teaching theology, metaphysics, and logic, and by writing, in 1788, *The Triumph of Infidelity*, aiming his strictures at David Hume (1711-1776) and François M. Arouet de Voltaire (1694-1778). Earlier still, George Berkeley, Trinity College (Dublin) graduate, who had been studying in Rhode Island while awaiting action on his plan for a college in the Bermudas, published the results of his studies in a volume entitled, *Alciphron, or the Minute Philosopher* (1733), in which free-thinkers were handled with anything but gloves. Entertaining as well as efficient carrier of wisdom ("if you will not hear Reason she will surely rap your knuckles") was Benjamin Franklin's *Poor Richard's Almanac*, begun in Philadelphia in 1732, and which, when published in 1758 as *The Way to Wealth*, required 30 editions in France alone to satisfy the demand.

Keeping the reading public up-to-date in America (if de Tocqueville had looked around) was the American edition of the *New Encyclopaedia or Universal Dictionary of Arts and Sciences*, issued between 1802 and 1820 in 45 volumes, the first edition of which had been published in 1728 in London.*

Likewise available then was Noah Webster's *A Philosophical and Practical Grammar of the English Language*, which appeared in 1807 and was an attempt to further a true linguistic science, the necessity of which had been recognized by the Franciscan, Roger Bacon (c. 1214-c. 1294), for the proper understanding both of the *Scriptures* and of books on philosophy. As will be seen below, books of reference formed part of the book trade in California from the 1850's.[37]

As for Boston's philosophical leanings, Ralph Waldo Emerson (1803-1882) came into particular prominence in 1837, when he was elevated

*When rendered into French in 1743-45, Chambers' work served as the basis for Denis Diderot's *Encyclopédie ou Dictionnaire Universel des Arts et Sciences*, published in Paris in 1751-65. A few years afterwards in Edinburgh (1768-71) came the first edition of the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, treating, among other timely topics, "fifteen capital sciences."[36]

to that site by his Phi Beta Kappa oration at Harvard on "The American Scholar," followed by publication of his *Essays* in 1841 and 1844. In Boston, also, the Transcendentalists (believers in the intuitive, supernatural character of knowledge, as against the limited contributions to it by the senses, and to whose tenets Emerson did not wholly subscribe) were much on the public tongue between 1830 and 1850, Margaret Fuller (Marchioness Ossoli), foundress of the group's organ, *The Dial*, and one of their propagandists, having been drowned in the latter year.

In the middle west, a decade or so before the migration toward the Pacific got under way, the University of Michigan had opened its doors at Ann Arbor, and as of June 1837 the curriculum provided instruction in moral philosophy, the same professor offering courses in logic and mental philosophy, while the professor of mathematics offered those in both natural philosophy and civil engineering.[38] By 1842 instruction in the philosophy of the human mind and in moral philosophy was being added. Philosophy was indeed very much in the middle-western educational air and was no respecter of age or sex. A certain maiden lady, for example, started a school for girls in Chicago in 1836 and introduced what were said to be "somewhat bold innovations in natural philosophy, chemistry, book-keeping, logic, and moral philosophy," in addition to the usual girls' fare.[39]

As for the west, not only was the inhabited area of the American New World pushed clear to the Pacific by infiltration from points east after the gold discovery, but those that came brought with them in their limited personal baggage, if not the actual objects of their desires, at least certain predilections concerning them. What these were in the case of literature, especially philosophy, the order-forms and newspaper advertisements of the local book-dealers plainly show.

The event in California that caused all the commotion was greeted at first by vocally-proficient disbelief, followed soon after by incredulity at the size of the gold deposits, and by a frantic wish on the part of some of the former disbelievers to hush up the lushness of the mines and thus prevent the more nimble from getting there first. One of the latter, a San Francisco newspaper editor, was called a "sapient sceptic,"[40] indicating that, on the west coast, conceit masquerading as wisdom was recognized for what it was, and was no more acceptable to the citizens than inferior butter.[41] The latter, even in those hurried times, had to be "the best that can be bought and put up in the best manner." In fact, taste in table lubricants included, the refinements of education had not

been slow in establishing themselves in California before the war with Mexico had drawn to a close. Navy-Chaplain and U. S.-Alcalde Walter Colton's schoolhouse at Monterey, erected in 1847-48, had the reputation of being "without a rival in California";[42] while as early as December 1846, Colton's Roman Catholic friend, Gen. Mariano G. Vallejo, who was already familiar with the works of Voltaire and Jean Jacques Rousseau (1712-78), had called for the dissemination of true wisdom under the tutelage of "capable professors."[43]

In addition to the Franciscans and the Jesuits,[44] the different Protestant denominations were enthusiastically at work, even though at times a minister might find it hard "to get a man to look through a lump of gold into eternity."[45] Ministers had to run the gantlet of "meeting the scrutinizing gaze of the experienced traveller . . . the meditative look of the learned professor, the sagacious features of the projector and speculator. . . ." But it was soon evident to the clergy and straightway acted upon by them, that preaching had to appeal to "the reason as the channel through which truth must flow, to effect the salvation of the soul—all dependent upon the independent working of the Divine and Holy Spirit."[46]

The stresses of the day matched the size of the crowds, which were so large that one might (unphilosophically, of course) suspect that their combined weight could tilt the continent and submerge the Pacific coastline. And yet migrations of size were nothing new in history: the flight of the Israelites from Egypt, with Moses as leader and faith in Jehovah as strategy;[47] the flight of Mohammed (Mahomet) from Mecca to Yathrib in A. D. 622, with the loyalty of his followers to himself and to one another as strategy; the invasion of western Asia and contiguous Europe by Jenghiz Kahn in 1162-1227, with successive conquests and annihilations as strategy; the invasion of the Spanish peninsula by the Moors in 711-714, with Tarik as leader and a strategy based on the non-patriotism of the invaded citizenry.[48] The voyage of the *Mayflower*, with its 102 passengers, was a flight from restraint and denial of liberty, not an invasion.[49]

When it comes, however, to the mid-19th century migration to California, non-military though it was and with captains of companies, heterogeneous in make-up and strategy, instead of a single dominating leader, the term "invasion" would seem to be correct, the dominating factor being a headlong drive for wealth on the part of all the participants. What kind of philosophy could possibly emerge from such a

situation? What evidence of eternal and immutable principles could it offer? Yet ancient philosophers did not condemn wealth in itself. On the contrary, they conceded that an establishment for the exchange of goods was necessary;[50] that, granted the excellence of the contemplative life, happiness "needs the external goods as well;[51] for it is impossible, or not easy," said Aristotle, "to do noble acts without the proper equipment"; and Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel (1770-1831), more nearly contemporary with the discovery, spoke of the "absolute right of personal existence to find itself satisfied in its activity and labor."[52] Nevertheless, King David's son, 10 centuries before Christ, appears almost to have foreseen the danger that might lurk in the gold-bearing gravels of California—not from poison-oak or rattlesnakes, but from forgetting that, "Wisdom is the principal thing; therefore get wisdom: and with all thy getting get understanding";[53] while another "Wisdom Literature" writer, possibly with ancient mining practices in mind, seems likewise to have foreseen the devastation that would accompany the search for California gold when a miner had recourse to hydraulic methods: ". . . he overturneth the mountains by the roots. He cutteth out rivers among the rocks . . . and the thing that is hid bringeth he forth to light. But where shall wisdom be found? and where is the place of understanding? . . . God understandeth the way thereof. . . . For he looketh to the ends of the earth. . . . And unto man he said, behold the fear of the Lord, that is wisdom; and to depart from evil is understanding."[54] All of which emphasizes the fact that the subject of this paper is concerned with mental discipline; not with an easy, fictitious "Philosophers' Stone" (dear to alchemists).

Philosophy, according to a Roman student of the subject,[55] could be counted on "to provide an antidote to sorrow," the latter, in the words of one who ought to have known—Robert Burton, *Anatomy of Melancholy* (1621)—being physically dangerous: "It refrigerates the body, and . . . overthrows appetite." Its victims in California, symbolized by the "ghost towns," often stayed on, which did not go unnoticed by Mark Twain: "One of my associates . . . was a man who had had a university education; but now for eighteen years he had decayed there by inches . . . and at times, among his soliloquizings, he unconsciously interjected vaguely remembered Latin and Greek sentences . . . meet vehicles for the thoughts of one whose dreams were all of the past. . . ."[56]

The contemporary book-trade records indicated, by the frequent demand for Burton's *Anatomy of Melancholy*, that the California read-

ing-public recognized the fact of failure and wanted to know how to deal with it: "If thou alone wert distressed," advised Burton,[57] "it were indeed more irksome, and less to be endured. . . . He that refuseth to see . . . this, is not fit to live in this world and knows not the common condition of all men. . . . Make a virtue of necessity and conform thyself to undergo it"—which will have reminded some of the Shakespeare enthusiasts in the crowds of the 1850's in California that John of Gaunt in *Richard II* gave similar advice to Bolingbroke: ". . . Teach thy necessity to reason thus. There is no virtue like necessity."[58]

Yet the successful side of mining was rosy enough to make Emerson use it as an illustration of the way in which dull conversation in his day could be transformed by the entrance into it of a person versatile enough to turn the thoughts of the company into other, more discerning channels, thus quashing the dullness and making them all feel that they have been to California "and all have come back millionaires."[59]

The winter of 1849 saw the new state proceeding under its own constitution, in the framing of which no better evidence can probably be found of the intellectual advantages the population then resident in California had enjoyed before coming west. F. C. Ewer, editor of *The Pioneer* (San Francisco, I [Jan.-June 1854] p. 19) called them "a polished people," who had "overspread her territory suddenly, rather than grown up with it; a people . . . whose language is prolific in words, and so thoroughly organized . . . as to become a ready instrument in the hands of the philosopher or poet for the embodiment of the most profound thoughts. . . ." The formalities of assuming statehood had indeed been put together expeditiously. It seemed to have been a case of what John Stuart Mill said about Americans in general:[60] any body of them if left without a government, "is able to improvise one, and to carry on that or any other public business with a sufficient amount of intelligence, order, and decision"; or what Emerson had in mind later: "the Saxon man, when he is well awake, is not a pirate but a citizen, all made of hooks and eyes, and links himself naturally to his brothers. . . ."[61] Certainly paragraph II in J. M. Hutchings' *The Miners' Ten Commandments*, viz., "Thou shalt not make unto thyself any false claim, nor any likeness to a mean man, by jumping one. . . ." confirms, at least on paper, Emerson's confidence. (It would not be amiss to add here, however, that in California, credit for success in applying "hooks and eyes" should not be limited to "Saxon man.")

Knowing the mentality of the people of the state, Gov. Peter H.

Burnett had no hesitancy, when delivering his message to the first legislature, in diagnosing the circumstances confronting its members: "... our position upon the Pacific Ocean, the relation we bear to the other States of the Union, and to the civilized World, impose upon us peculiar responsibilities. . . . We shall soon be in close commercial intercourse with the teeming population of the Old World. The rich and cheap productions of Asia are already pouring into our ports. . . ."[62]

Not only were Asian commercial products coming in, but Asian philosophies and objects of art, the beauties of which, when on display in the shops of "China Town" and elsewhere, and in private homes and art galleries, made untold contributions to the perceiving-power and enjoyment of passers-by and students, and thus to the increased recognition and support of that branch of philosophy known as aesthetics.

The differences in nationality, habit of thought, and in religion, existing in more or less confusion in the new state, heightened the perplexities common to man under ordinary conditions of daily life—perplexities regarding the nature of God, man's relation to Him, to his fellowmen, and to the universe itself, which in turn gave rise to speculation about a future life, and to interest in spiritualism, or the belief that the dead can be communicated with by various means, including the employment of a medium. Robert Browning's works were in steady demand in California; Browning Clubs were formed, and it is interesting to find that in his poem "Mr. Sludge, the Medium" (Browning was opposed to spiritualism, though his wife favored it), several lines are given over to the gold-discovery. The hero, in describing how baffling some coincidences are, says that a "clever" person is apt to be "too much of a philosopher" to count as supernatural some particular coincidence; instead, he calls it a puzzle, and bids you to be on your guard, "Because one fact don't make a system stand. . . . / Just so wild Indians picked up, piece by piece, / The fact in California, the fine gold / That underlay the gravel—horded these, / But never made a system stand, nor dug! / So wise men hold out in each hollowed palm / A handful of experience, sparkling fact / They can't explain. . . ."

The Chinese portion of the California population would have been cold toward any local interest in spiritualism, as Confucious (551-478 B. C.) expressly defines wisdom as: "To labor for the promoting of righteous conduct among the people of the land; to be serious in regard to spiritual beings, and to hold aloof from them; this may be called wisdom."[63] Book-sellers in San Francisco were, in fact, none too eager to stock works on spiritualism.[64]

They may have held aloof from table-tipping and -tapping, but the proprietors of bookstores of the 1850's in San Francisco and in other parts of the state invested largely in standard works on the subjects listed below, including, in surprisingly modern fashion, an account of *The Pacific and Dead Sea Expedition* by J. S. Jenkins.[65] If the end of all study is to enable the mind to form sound judgments on everything presented to it, works on these varied subjects, and from varied points of view, would have been especially valuable during, for instance, the activities of the vigilantes, by turning the thoughts of the participants, and of the citizens in general, into channels where their own troubled lives might be understood in the light of their fellow-creatures' experiences, in the same or other circumstances, imaginary or real, long ago and not so long ago.

Books advertised by the trade in the daily press were often grouped under such headings as: GEOGRAPHIES, ASTRONOMIES . . .; HISTORICAL, MORAL, AND RELIGIOUS WORKS; BIBLES AND PRAYER BOOKS; POETRY FOR THE CABIN (Shakespeare, Spenser . . .); LIBERAL WORKS; RATIONALISTIC WORKS; OBRAS DE MEDICINA . . . JURISPRUDENCIA . . . PHILOSOPHIA; LAW AND SCIENTIFIC BOOKS; MINING AND SCIENTIFIC BOOKS; BOOKS IN GREEK, LATIN, ITALIAN . . .; HISTORY, LITERATURE, SCIENCE, AND ART; ROMANCE . . . MUSIC, PHILOSOPHY, DRAMA; OPPORTUNITY FOR ALL ON THE LONG WINTER EVENINGS; BOOKS FOR THE MILLIONS; BOOKS FOR THE PEOPLE. And among the authors individually mentioned were Aristotle ("Works, 25 copies"); Francis Bacon; Buffon; Burton, Carlyle, De Quincey, de Tocqueville, Goethe, Gibbon, Rabbi H. H. Henry, Hume, Josephus, Kant, George Henry Lewes, Macaulay, Milton, Thomas Paine (*Common Sense*; *Rights of Man*; *Age of Reason*), Theodore Parker, Rousseau, Shakespeare, Spurgeon, Thiers, Volney, Voltaire, George Washington, Daniel Webster, William Whewell (*History of the Inductive Sciences*). . . .

A well-stocked bookstore in those days was thus, as now, a center of enlightenment—a kind of Athenian *stoa* or roofed porch, where prospective purchasers (possibly prospective philosophers) moved about and talked with the proprietor or with one another about, say, the timelessness of George Washington's query, "Can it be that Providence has not connected the permanent felicity of a nation with its virtue?" or about certain details in Jewish history recalled to their minds by Rabbi Henry; or Thomas Paine's arguments against organized religions and compulsive creeds: "my own mind is my own church," said Paine; or

about deism as advanced by Voltaire, *i.e.*, belief in the existence of a personal God by the light of reason alone as distinct from revelation; or examined the opening verses of the Fourth Gospel, where the author declares that, "In the beginning was the Word [*Logos*], and the Word was with God, and the Word was God. The same was in the beginning with God": or the definition in a later chapter that, "God is a Spirit: and they that worship him must worship him in spirit and in truth." And then perhaps one of the peripatetic readers would pick up a copy of Comte de Volney's *Les Ruines* and see what he said about the final union of all religions because of the common truth underlying them all.

Also relieving the tensions of the city during the decade were the concerts of the San Francisco Philharmonic Society,[66] its members presenting Haydn's *The Seasons* and *The Creation*, highly stimulating in æsthetics and overlapping into cosmology or the study of the universe as an orderly, harmonious system (if the pun can be forgiven). The lectures of the day were meaty and popular: C. F. Winslow's (March 1854) on "The Preparation of the Earth for the Intellectual Races," for example; and F. C. Ewer's (Dec. 1855) on "The Distribution of the Vegetable Kingdom over the Surface of the Earth, taken in Connection with Some of its Main Causes."[67]

The design of philosophy, as one of the above authors, Francis Bacon, saw it, was to bring composure to an individual and thus quiet his troubles; ". . . that mind," said Bacon, "is truly sound and strong which is able to break through numerous and great temptations . . . not warily abstain but courageously sustain . . ."; so that when the soul finds itself, "on the steepest precipice," with disorders and hardship on every hand, it can, "like a well-broken horse, stop and turn at the shortest warning."[68] Philosophy and religion—reason and revelation—working together, had daily chances to bring such words home to the people of California in the 1850's; and Thomas Aquinas believed this would always be so, because they both, philosophy and religion, come from one source of knowledge, God, the Absolute One.[69]

Looking back some time later to the disorders of the 1850's, Josiah Royce gave to one of the sections in his, *California from the Conquest in 1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee*, the heading, "The Philosophy of California History during the Golden Days," in which he mentions two specific causes for the lawlessness: (1) that the newcomers, though trained in the duties of citizens, neglected those duties, with the result that their quest for gold became "not merely unmoral, but positively

sinful"; and (2) they were possessed by a "diseased local exaggeration of our common national feeling towards foreigners." The gold-diggers "sought wealth and not a social order"; and because they despised or at least forgot the proper relations of life, "the early community entered into the valley of the shadow." By turning again and serving the social order, they would soon find that what they were serving was simply their own highest spiritual destiny in bodily form.[70]

Many circumstances contributed to their failure to seek permanent good first, instead of impermanent goods. Such spectacular, large-scale economic possibilities as passed hourly before the eyes of the new arrivals, and caught the eyes of the world beyond, could hardly have given rise to conduct differing greatly from that which Royce decried, if one considers the youthfulness of the participants — the new wine still in the cluster and with a blessing in it could one but wait, to paraphrase a passage in the book of *Isaiah*. What ailed the youth of those days was very old. Aristotle, over 2000 years before Royce, recognized it in his time and had found it irksome also: ". . . their impulses are . . . like sick people's attacks of hunger and thirst. . . . They are hot-tempered and . . . are indignant if they imagine themselves unfairly treated. . . . They think they know everything, and are always quite sure about it; this, in fact, is why they overdo everything."[71] But, knowing the antiquity of the trouble, the Greek, had he been Royce, would perhaps have let one of the latter's adjectives suffice for condemnation instead of adding another. To the authors of a contemporary work, *The Annals of San Francisco* (1855), it seemed logical that the many anomalies in California history be "peculiarly and leniently judged."[72]

The conviction that they were being "unfairly treated" by competition with foreigners, in practically everything, was part of the struggle for existence among Americans in California during the 1850's. The whole subject was pointed up at the end of the decade by the appearance, in London in November 1859, of Charles Darwin's *Origin of Species by Means of Natural Selection*, recounting the painstaking and intricate way in which Nature's "inner apartments" had been entered.[73] The effect on scientific and philosophical thought was momentous. "Our clock," said Thomas Carlyle (1795-1881), "strikes when there is a change from hour to hour; but no hammer in the horologe of Time peals through the universe when there is a change from era to era."[74] With the publication of Darwin's book, however, such a pealing was heard; and the public's response to it in California was not slow in making itself felt.

A curious analogy with the event had occurred at the beginning of the decade; namely, the apparent consciousness among some of the young, vigorous first-arrivals in California that, in the midst of the difficulties that beset them, they were undergoing a kind of "natural selection," a feeling that prompted them to band together in August 1850 into a "Society of California Pioneers," with the date of arrival to qualify for membership being set at "prior to the first day of January 1850."[75] As will be remembered, Darwin stated that, "From the strong principle of inheritance, any selected variety will tend to propagate its new and modified form." The new society, by having had among their reasons for organizing, to advance "in all appropriate matters . . . the interests and perpetuate the memory of those whose sagacity, energy, and enterprise induced them to settle in the wilderness and become the founders of a new State," was giving voice to their own brand or system of moral philosophy, namely, a conception of conduct in agreement with the processes of natural selection, whereby, winning success themselves in the then-current struggle for existence, their descendants would be enabled to represent "the survival of the fittest" (to borrow Herbert Spencer's term) in their particular generation, and thus perpetuate the existence of the Society of California Pioneers.

PHILOSOPHY IN THE HANDS OF SCHOOLS AND COLLEGES

Meanwhile, schools, both public and private, were increasing in number; as of May 1, 1854, there were 34 in San Francisco alone, 27 of which were private, and the subjects taught included "the ancient and modern languages, higher mathematics, philosophy, etc."[76] The next year, the San Francisco Female Institute opened, followed in 1856 by the San Francisco College, both schools offering courses in natural philosophy, the ladies of the institute getting instruction in intellectual philosophy as well.[77] By January 1858, what had been called the Union Grammar School became the San Francisco High School, and its announcement of courses listed intellectual philosophy in addition to rhetoric, logic, chemistry, mineralogy, constitution of the United States, astronomy, etc., which would seem to be pretty nourishing fare, considering that in Francis Bacon's opinion histories make men wise; natural and moral philosophies make them deep and grave; while logic and rhetoric enable them to contend.[78] In his address at the dedication of the school's new building in September 1860, Thomas Starr King referred to the manner in which high schools, in cities and large towns, send strength below;

similarly, he said, "a free and largely planned" university in every state of the Union would give final symmetry to the country's whole system of education – evidence that the state-university idea was taking shape.[79]

A high school in Sacramento was not far behind San Francisco in materializing; in fact, in September 1856 it opened with an enrollment of 6 in Greek, and 30 in natural philosophy, exceeded only by elocution with 34, and algebra with 32. In 1852, Benicia boasted among its schools Mills Seminary,* whose curriculum included intellectual philosophy, natural theology, and a study of Joseph Butler's *Analogy of Religion, Natural and Revealed, to the Course and Constitution of Nature* (1736) – an analogy, which, in Butler's view, leads to the conclusion that there is one author of both.[80]

San Jose Academy with Edward Bannister, a Methodist, in charge, was operating about 1850, and to it in 1852 the members of the legislature granted their first charter as the California Western College, later the University of the Pacific, and later again the College of the Pacific. By 1853 it had been removed to Santa Clara, and was offering natural philosophy among the subjects for study, which included Latin, Greek, music, algebra, . . .[81]

Cumberland College at Sonoma, founded by the Presbyterian Church, announced, in its 1860-61 and subsequent catalogues, courses in the mechanics of fluids, elements of moral science, Plato's *Georgias*, together with the plays of Sophocles, logic, zoology, etc. The same may be said for the breadth of instruction offered in 1864 by the Pacific Female College of Oakland, where, as at Mills Seminary, the *Analogy of Religion . . . to Nature* was part of the curriculum.

From its origin in Oakland as a preparatory school, there emerged in 1855 the College of California which, some 14 years later, became the University of California. Under the heading "Philosophy and Destiny," H. H. Bancroft recounts how Luis Peralta, having already divided his San Antonio Rancho among his sons, advised them, when the gold rush was getting under way, that as it had evidently been the will of God for the Americans and not the Spanish to find gold, the Peralta boys should stay at home and let others go to the mines. "Plant your lands, and reap," he told them; "these be your best gold-fields, for all must eat while they live."[82] The old man had lived long enough to have accumulated a num-

*In 1871, the seminary moved to its present site, and in 1885 became Mills College. Four years later, the Mark Hopkins chair of mental and moral philosophy was established at the college.

ber of general conceptions—a philosophy; and the fact that his son Domingo's part of the original rancho became, under the name of a famous Irish philosopher, the seat of the state university, makes Bancroft's coupling of the words "philosophy and destiny" particularly appropriate, but Bancroft himself seems not to have noticed it.

Before returning to his home in Connecticut after a stay in California in search of health, Horace Bushnell, a leader in his state's Congregational Church, showed his interest in plans for the creation of an institution for higher education in the west by addressing an appeal to the public, reading in part as follows: "It has been the common satire on universities, that they are boats fast anchored in the stream of time; but how great a comfort would it be to your eyes, as a people, to see the satire made good—to see this mighty anchor of sound learning cast, and the tides of your present uncertainties and disorders hurrying by and leaving it unmoved."[83] The present-day efficiency of the "anchor" in its task would have comforted Bushnell had he been able to see ahead this far.

An idea of the work the university was capable of doing by the beginning of the 1870's may be had from the *Biennial Report of the Regents of the University of California* for the Years 1872-73: under "Philosophical Apparatus" appears the statement, "The Cabinet of Physical and Mechanical Apparatus is very complete. Among other things it includes instruments for illustrating the Laws of expansion of Solids, Liquids, and Gases. . . ." *The Register of the University of California* for the same period describes the instruction offered in the general subject of Logic: "Syllabus of the course: Analytic Outline of Logic; of the Operations of the Mind and of Terms; Propositions; Arguments, and the Theory of Syllogistic Reasoning; Fallacies; Induction; The Discovery of Truth; Inference and Proof; Practice in Dialectics." The textbook was Whateley's *Logic*; works of reference, Sir W. Hamilton's *Lectures on Logic;* J. Stuart Mills, *Logic.*

In a letter dated July 7, 1881, D. O. Mills transmitted to the regents of the university a check for $75,000 for the endowment of a professorship in intellectual and moral philosophy and civil polity; and on December 19, 1883, George Holmes Howison was elected by that body to be the first Mills Professor of Philosophy.[84] The donor had been explicit as to the qualifications of the candidate: "The studies included under the general title pertain especially to man, his intellectual, moral and social being. . . . In the widest and most liberal meaning they under-

lie laws, manners, and religion, and in effect form the public opinion of the world; and their teacher should not be one who . . . incidently adopts them, but one of philosophic spirit. . . ."

Howison was born in Maryland in 1834. Four years later his parents moved to Ohio where, at Marietta College, he received his education (A.B., 1852; A.M., 1855), plus 2 years' study in philosophy in Germany, mainly at the University of Berlin. Before coming to California, he had taught mathematics and political economy at Washington University in St. Louis, logic and philosophy of science at Massachusetts Institute of Technology, ethics at Harvard, and logic, psychology, and speculative philosophy at the University of Michigan. There was little chance of his not possessing the requisite "philosophic spirit."

By 1886-87, instruction in philosophy at the University of California was in full swing, with Howison as sole factotum:[85] I. Propaedeutic (introductory) to philosophy: the logic underlying grammar; familiarization of the common categories by their use in the analysis of propositions and terms (component parts of a 3-proposition argument or syllogism). II. Empirical (derived from experiment or experience) psychology, including formal logic, deductive and inductive (i.e., reasoning from the general to the particular, and vice-versa); general history of philosophy. III. Elementary ethics, historically treated, including a critique of perfectionism and of hedonism (pleasure as the chief good), of necessity and freedom, and of optimism and pessimism; IV. Elements of civil polity: the nature of a state and its bearing on the limits of allegiance and liberty. [Seventy years have passed, and the "limits" are still debated.] In addition were "alternating courses," all under Howison: V. René Descartes (1596-1650) and B. Spinoza (1632-1677), dualism and monism; VI. Spinoza and Gottfried W. Leibnitz (1646-1716), or universalism and individualism; VII. Leibnitz and John Locke (1632-1704), rationalism and empiricism; VIII. David Hume (1711-1776) and Immanuel Kant (1724-1804), development of scepticism and rationalism, critique of the foundations of agnosticism (unknowableness of the character of the universe and of God). Also given were graduate courses in German on Kant's *Critique of Pure Reason*, and G. W. F. Hegel's (1770-1831) *Science of Logic*.

(To be concluded)

NOTES

("Some people do not listen to a speaker . . . unless he gives instances, while others . . . are annoyed by accuracy . . . because they regard it as pettifoggery."—Aristotle; note 5 below, p. 52.)

1. *Dialogues of Plato*, tranl. by Benjamin Jowett (New York: Colonial Press, 1899, "Phaedo," p. 130.

2. *New Testament*, "The Acts of the Apostles," chap. 17, v. 23.

3. Oliver Goldsmith (1728-1774), *Citizen of the World*, Letter 30.

4. William Cowper, "The Task."

5. Charles M. Bakewell, *Source Book in Ancient Philosophy* (New York, 1907), p. 323.

6. Charles L. Camp, *Earth Song, A Prologue to History* (Univ. of Calif. Press, 1952), p. 81; Frank H. H. Roberts, Jr., "Early Man in California," in *California Indians—A Source Book*, comp. and ed. by R. F. Heizer and M. A. Whipple, hereafter cited as *Calif. Inds.* (Univ. of Calif. Press, 1951), pp. 126-27; A. L. Kroeber, "The History of Native Culture in California," *ibid.*, pp. 119-20.

7. Camp, *op. cit.*, p. 60.

8. *Ibid.*, p. 81.

9. Bakewell, as in note 5 above, p. 217.

10. Willis L. Jepson, *The Silva of California* (Berkeley: *Memoirs*, Univ. of Calif., 1910), pp. 58, 132; William A. Bardsley, "Dendrochronology: Key to the Past," *Pacific Discovery* (Calif. Acad. Sciences), Jan.-Feb. 1958, pp. 22-23; Charles Schuchert, *A Text Book of Geology* (New York, 1915), Pt. II, pp. 960-62; Camp, *op. cit.*, p. 79.

11. H. H. Bancroft, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1886-90), II, 623-24; Father Tapis' transcriptions, in multicolor, of Gregorian chants are in the San Juan Bautista Mission library (note 14 below).

12. Plato, *The Republic*, transl. by Benjamin Jowett (New York: Colonial Press, 1901), Book VI, p. 179.

13. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, III, 662 (note).

14. Brother Daniel, M.M., "The Old Franciscan Library at Mission San Juan Bautista," this QUARTERLY, June 1946, pp. 133-34, 137. Also among the Franciscans in California was Marcelino Ciprés, who, before coming to Mission San Antonio in 1795, had studied philosophy in Spain at Ternel and theology at Taragona. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 148 (note).

15. Pedro Font, "The Colorado Yumans in 1775," in *Calif. Inds.*, p. 207.

16. José Espinosa y Tello, "The Monterey Bay Costanoans," *ibid.*, p. 216.

17. A. L. Kroeber, "Elements of Culture," *ibid.*, pp. 41, 44-45.

18. Stanley S. Newman, "Lingual Aspects of Yokuts Narrative Style," *ibid.*, p. 95.

19. Benjamin Jowett, Introd. to "Phaedo," as above in note 1, p. 70.

20. Christopher Martin Wieland (1733-1813), "Philosophy Considered as the

Art of Life and Healing Art of the Soul," in *Essays of French, German, and Italian Essayists* (New York: Colonial Press, 1900), p. 182. *Cf.* Edward Burnett Tylor, *Primitive Culture: Researches into the Development of Mythology, Philosophy, Religion . . .* (1871).

21. Carl Meyer, "The Yurok of Trinidad Bay, 1851," in *Calif. Inds.*, pp. 225-26; Franklin Fenenga, "Petroglyphs in California," *ibid.*, pp. 195 ff.; A. L. Kroeber, "California Basketry and the Pomo," *ibid.*, p. 252; Pedro Fages, "The Chumash Indians of Santa Barbara," *ibid.*, pp. 210-15 *passim;* Bernard Berenson, *Aesthetics and History* (New York: Doubleday Anchor Books, 1954), p. 236.

22. A. L. Kroeber, "Yurok Law and Custom," in *Calif. Inds.*, p. 336.

23. A. L. Kroeber, "The World Renewal Cult of Northwest California," *ibid.*, pp. 404-405, 411; Bernard Berenson, note 21 above, pp. 233-34.

24. A. L. Kroeber, note 17 above, pp. 21-22; Leonora Wood Armsby, "The San Francisco Symphony Orchestra, First Decade," this QUARTERLY, Sept. 1946, p. 229, speaks of the early-day renderings of Gregorian chants at the California missions. See note 11 above; also Howard Swan, *Music in the Southland, 1825-1950* (San Marino: Huntington Library, 1952), pp. 86 ff.

25. Maynard Geiger, O.F.M., "Dates of Palou's Death and Lasuen's Birth Determined," this QUARTERLY, March 1949, p. 21; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, II, 6.

26. Maurice Francis Egan, Special introduction to *Dialogues of Plato*, note 1 above, p. iv.

27. *Aristotle Selections*, ed. by W. D. Ross (New York: Modern Student's Library, 1927), p. 54.

28. Herbert I. Priestley, *The Mexican Nation* (New York, 1924), pp. 96 ff, where the 2 sides (temporal and spiritual) of the Spanish conquest are analyzed in detail; S. F. Cook, "Conflict between the California Indian and White Civilization," in *Calif. Inds.*, pp. 465-68.

29. Some 10 years after Chateaubriand's visit, his *Atala et René, ou les Amours de Deux Sauvages* made its appearance in Paris.

30. Alexis C. H. C. de Toqueville, *Democracy in America* (1835), Vol. 2, First Book, Chap. I, *passim.*

31. "The Acts of the Apostles," note 2 above, v. 18.

32. The compact is given in full in George Bancroft, *History of the United States* (Boston, 1872, 24th edition), I, Chap. 8, p. 309.

33. William Pitt (1708-1778), 1st earl of Chatham, quoted in Daniel Webster, *The Bunker Hill Monument; Adams and Jefferson, Two Orations* (New York: The Riverside Press, 1892), p. 52.

34. Benjamin Peirce, *A History of Harvard University from Its Foundation, in the Year 1636 to the Period of the American Revolution* (Cambridge, 1833), pp. 151-52; appendix, p. 103-104.

35. Franklin Bowditch Dexter, *Sketch of the History of Yale University* (New York, 1887), pp. 41-42; Charles E. Norton, Arthur Hadley et al, *Four American*

Universities—Harvard, Yale, Princeton, and Columbia (New York, 1895), *passim.*

36. Article entitled "Encyclopaedia," in *Encyclop. Britannica,* 11th edition (New York, 1910-11), IX, 369-82.

37. Roger Bacon, *Opus Majus,* Pt. III, pp. 44-57.

38. University of Michigan, *Regents' Proceedings, 1837-1864* (Ann Arbor, 1915), pp. 5, 13, 244. Preceding the founding of the Univ. of Michigan by a few years were Western Reserve Univ., 1826, at Cleveland, Ohio; and Oberlin College, at Oberlin, in 1833. Here, under C. G. Finney as president, 1851-66, arose "Oberlin theology," or belief in the attainment of holiness when freedom of the will prevails.

39. Bessie Louise Pierce, *A History of Chicago* (New York, 1937), I (1673-1848), p. 281.

40. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.,* VI, 56 (note 6); the sceptic in question was E. C. Kemble, editor of the *Star.*

41. "Nantucket to the Golden Gate in 1849," letters of Charles F. Winslow, transcribed by Helen Irving Oehler, this QUARTERLY, March 1950, p. 15.

42. Clifford M. Drury, "Walter Colton, Chaplain and Alcalde," this QUARTERLY, June 1956, p. 110.

43. Madie D. Brown, "Gen. M. G. Vallejo and H. H. Bancroft," this QUARTERLY, June 1950, p. 150.

44. John Bernard McGloin, S.J., "The Jesuit Arrival in San Francisco in 1849," this QUARTERLY, June 1950, p. 139.

45. "Selected Letters of Osgood Church Wheeler," with introduction and notes by Sandford Fleming, this QUARTERLY, March 1948, p. 16; *ibid.,* June 1948, p. 124.

46. *Ibid.,* Dec. 1948, p. 301.

47. *Old Testament,* "Exodus," chap. 12, v. 37-38.

48. The name "Gibraltar" is a corruption of Jebel (mountain) *plus* Tarik, the latter having fortified the great rock during his invasion of Spain. Mt. Lassen, named for a non-military gold-rush leader, fortifies itself by occasional volcanic sword-rattling.

49. George Bancroft, note 32 above, p. 308.

50. Plato, *The Republic,* note 12 above, Book II, p. 50.

51. Aristotle, note 27 above, p. 226.

52. Georg Wilhelm Friedrich Hegel, *The Philosophy of History* (New York: Colonial Press, 1899), author's introduction, p. 22.

53. *Old Testament,* "Proverbs," chap. 4, v. 7.

54. *Ibid.,* "Job," chap. 28, v. 9-10, 12, 23, 24, 28.

55. Marcus Tullius Cicero (B.C. 106-43), *Academica,* I, 3, 11; Robert Burton (1577-1640), *Anatomy of Melancholy,* "Perturbation of the Mind Rectified."

56. Mark Twain, *Roughing It* (Hillcrest edition), II, pp. 179-80. [Reader: in-

sert "sighings and" before "soliloquizings."] Was the unfortunate miner perhaps a Harvard man? *See* Horace Davis, "Harvard Men on the Pacific Coast during the Fifties," in *Harvard Graduates Magazine,* June 12, 1912, p. 641.

57. Robert Burton, note 55 above, "Remedies of all Kinds of Discontents."

58. *Richard the Second,* Act I, scene iii, 1. 275.

59. Ralph Waldo Emerson, *The Conduct of Life* (New York: Caxton Soc., n. d.) "Considerations by the Way," p. 238.

60. John Stuart Mill (1806-1873), *On Liberty* (Boston, 1863), "*Applications,*" p. 217.

61. John Q. Anderson, "Emerson in California," this QUARTERLY, Sept. 1954, p. 244.

62. *Calif. Assembly Journal,* 1st sess., San Jose, 1850, p. 606.

63. "The Analects of Confucius [K'ung tsze]" (551-478 B.C.), transl. by William Jennings, in *Oriental Literatures* (New York: Colonial Press, 1900), "The Literature of China," Book VI, p. 29.

64. Hugh Sanford Cheney Baker, "The Book Trade in California, 1849-1859," this QUARTERLY, Dec. 1951, p. 355; *ibid.,* p. 358, for a matching oddity to spiritualism in the book-stalls of California at the time, viz., phrenology (the assumed, but erroneous, direct relation between the conformation of the skull and the localization of the faculties), the interest having been stimulated by the publication, in 1850 in Edinburgh, of the biography of the Scottish physiologist Andrew Combe, younger brother of George Combe, both of them active proponents of phrenology. Theodore H. Hittell, *History of California* (San Francisco, 1898), III, 218-19, says that as early as 1851 near Hangtown, a local proponent, who called himself a "Philosopher," was given a few retaliatory "bumps" on his own head after having diagnosed the cranial inequalities of one of his subjects as proving him to be a liar, cheat and thief. John S. Hittell of San Francisco, brother of Theodore H., felt moved to put his views into a book, *A New System of Phrenology* (1857), which Dr. Baker says the public ignored, while another of John S.'s books, *The Evidences Against Christianity,* was protested in many quarters.

65. Baker, *op. cit.,* June 1951, p. 108. Dr. Baker's invaluable compilation was published in 3 consecutive issues of the QUARTERLY, beginning in June 1951.

66. "The California Recollections of Caspar T. Hopkins," this QUARTERLY, Dec. 1946, pp. 335, 342.

67. Note 41 above, p. 2.

68. Francis Bacon (1561-1626), *Advancement of Learning,* 7th Book, chap. I.

69. The belief of Thomas Aquinas (1225?-1274?) in the compatibility of religion with philosophy was the basic tenet of Scholasticism in the Middle Ages. Later, Gottfried Wilhelm Leibnitz (1646-1716) was to try to establish a similar compatibility within religion itself; that is, between the creeds of the Catholic and the Protestant churches.

70. Royce's book, of which the full title is *California from the Conquest in*

1846 to the Second Vigilance Committee in San Francisco: A Study of American Character, was re-published in New York in 1948, with an introduction by Robert Glass Cleland, giving biographical information about Royce, and closing with a transcription of Royce's praise of the San Francisco Bay area.

C. M. Gayley, *Classic Myths in English Literature and in Art* (Boston, new edition, 1911), pp. 502-503, finds, in the identity of the Greek word, *psyche*, for butterfly as well as for soul, a comprehension of the identity of the experiences undergone by each—the tomb-like existence of the butterfly preparatory to its brilliant release from the cocoon, and the purifying sufferings and misfortunes of the human soul preparatory to its enjoyment of true happiness.

71. *Aristotle*, note 27 above, p. 323; *Old Testament*, "Isaiah," chap. 65, v. 8; H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 316.

72. Frank Soulé, John Gihon, and James Nisbet, *Annals of San Francisco* (New York, 1855), p. 587; Matthew Arnold (1822-1888), *Discourses in America* (London, 1896), pp. 66-67, has the following to say about the neglect of moral values: "... in a democratic community like this [America] with its newness, its magnitude ... its sheer freedom and equality, the danger is in ... a false smartness, a false audacity, a want of soul and delicacy ... the failure to mind whatsoever things are elevated must impair with an inexorable fatality the life of a nation." (Arnold was in the U. S. in 1883, and again in 1886.)

73. Francis Bacon, *Novum Organum*, author's preface, first published in Latin in 1620, some 240 years before the appearance of Darwin's book. An example of how the book affected philosophic thought may be seen in William James' reference to it many years later: "Now, I affirm that the relation of the visible environment to the great man is in the main exactly what it is to the 'variation' in the Darwinian philosophy." *The Philosophy of William James, Drawn from His Own Works*, introd. by Horace M. Kallen (New York: Modern Libr., No. 114, 1925), p. 235.

See Robert Legge, M.D., "Hans Herman Behr ...," this QUARTERLY, Sept. 1953, pp. 254-55, for effect of Darwin's conclusions on a San Francisco scientist.

74. Thomas Carlyle, "On History," in *British Essayists* (New York: Colonial Press, 1900), p. 177.

75. *The Society of California Pioneers, a Brief Resume of its History and Purpose*, Nov. 1, 1946 (four-page leaflet).

76. Frank Soulé, *et al*, note 72 above, pp. 682-86.

77. W. W. Ferrier, *Ninety Years of Education in California, 1846-1936* (Berkeley, 1937), 82-83, 88-89 ff.

78. Francis Bacon, *Essays*, "Of Studies."

79. William Carey Jones, *Illustrated History of the University of California* (San Francisco, 1895), p. 22; Elmo A. Robinson and Dorothy C. Hartshorne, "Education, the Handmaid of Philosophy," *The Educational Forum*, vol. 1, pp. 495-503.

80. The *Analogy* was not an easy assignment, as Joseph Butler's (1692-1753) style is compressed, while, at the same time his subject matter is extremely full and well rounded. The paths of the 2 philosopher-churchmen—Butler, bishop of Durham from 1750, and George Berkeley, who was created bishop of Cloyne in 1734—were said to have crossed frequently.

81. Rockwell D. Hunt, *History of the College of the Pacific* (1951), pp. 4-27. Information about these early colleges may be obtained from a collection of miscellaneous pamphlets at the California state library. On the history of Mills College, see Rosalind A. Keep, *Fourscore and Ten Years* (1946).

82. H. H. Bancroft, *op. cit.*, VI, 65; William Carey Jones, note 79 above, p. 73, on the naming of the town of Berkeley, May 24, 1866.

83. *Ibid.*, p. 31; Samuel H. Willey, *Thirty Years in California* (San Francisco, 1879); and his *A History of the College of California* (San Francisco, 1887), *passim.*

84. William Carey Jones, *op. cit.*, p. 134.

85. Univ. of Calif., *Courses of Instruction,* 1886-87.

Natural philosophy referred originally to the study of nature in general; contrasted with *mental and moral philosophy*, designating the science or philosophy of conduct. The newer term 'physics" comprises the related sciences of mechanics, heat, etc., or the phenomena of inanimate nature that involve no change in chemical composition.

Acknowledgment is made to the editors of the *California Historical Society Quarterly* for their collaboration in preparing this paper for publication. [E.A.R.]

Frémont's Cannon

By Carl P. Russell*

Included in the equipment which the topographical engineer, John Charles Frémont, obtained from the arsenal in St. Louis (maintained there by the Mississippi Valley department of the U. S. army) was his echo-producing howitzer. It proved to be echo-producing not only in its percussive effects on the atmosphere at the time, but also in the 100-odd year stimulus it set up in the minds of historians to pursue the subject of its fortunes to the, so-to-speak, last ditch.[1] Frémont took the gun with him to Great Salt Lake, to the Snake and Columbia river valleys, the Klamath Lake country, through western Nevada to the vicinity of Bridgeport, California, and part way up the eastern ascent of the Sierra Nevada in the neighborhood of Sonora Junction. There he abandoned it on January 29, 1844.

According to one authority,[2] the U. S. government had decided, as early as 1835-1836, to adopt for use on the frontier the 12-pounder brass howitzer referred to by Frémont in his report as "the kind invented by the French for the mountain part of their war in Algiers."[3] With this in view, Cyrus Alger & Co. of South Boston, Mass., who had already made iron guns for the army and navy, is said to have begun manufacture of brass howitzers on the French model between October 1836 and September 1837, and that between those dates 12 were cast. Complaints were voiced by some of the commanding officers because of the howitzer's alleged tendency to overturn when crossing especially-rough stretches of the American frontier,[4] but Frémont did not hesitate to

*In his *Guns on the Early Frontiers: a History of Firearms from Colonial Times through the Years of the Western Fur Trade*, recently published by the University of California Press, the author provides a synthesis and an interpretation of scattered records pertaining to all types of trail-blazer and fur-hunter, etc., firearms, more complete than anything previously available. For the account of Frémont's 12-pounder howitzer presented here, Dr. Russell made use of those portions in his chapter on "Small Cannon of the Traders and the Military" which relate particularly to this historic piece of ordnance. [Ed.]

commend its performance for his party during their march to the west coast. ". . . the distance it had come with us," he wrote, "proved how well it was adapted to its purpose."[5]

It appears that the cannon almost cost the expedition the services of its leader before it actually started. Frémont's superior officer, Col. J. J. Abert, could not understand why such a punitive mechanism should have to accompany a peacefully-intended scientific expedition. But connubial wit moved faster than official calling-down, and Frémont's departure occurred just in time (May 29, 1843) to avoid the latter.[6] At the same time, the day-to-day records of the expedition show the wisdom of their having taken along a cannon as part of their "peaceful" outfit. Only a short time after leaving Missouri, they had encountered a series of Indian tribes, mounted and otherwise, and equipped as usual with a terrifying variety of yells, red blankets, and "heads shaved to the scalp lock," in which emergency the "display of our little howitzer" contributed, according to Frémont, to the dissuading of the Indians "from their marauding intentions." In the vicinity of Klamath Lake, the bursting of one of the howitzer's shells delighted the 2 friendly Indians who were acting as guides. "It inspired them with triumphant feelings"; but fortunately the effect on an encampment of hostile Indians was such as to make the smoke of their fires disappear immediately.[7]

Occasional firing of the howitzer was also useful in guiding back to camp those foraging groups that had remained out after dark. However the emphasis in his report is generally upon the psychological value of having a piece of artillery in readiness—all of which made it cherished both by Frémont and by members of his party.[8] When it was at last apparent that the howitzer must be given up, Frémont's own words show how reluctantly he and his fellow engineers acted on this conviction: "We left it," he said, "to the great sorrow of the whole party, who were grieved to part with a companion which had made the whole distance from St. Louis, and commanded respect for us on some critical occasions, and which might be needed for the same purpose again." What disposition was made of ammunition and other impedimenta pertaining to the gun is not explained.

The checking of Frémont's map and text against the terrain of the West Walker region seems to show that on January 28, 1844, the cannon was taken to the vicinity of present-day Sonora Junction. When the detachment of the expedition that had it in tow reached the steep slopes of the West Walker Canyon wall—up which Frémont and

his main party had climbed because of the impossibility of traveling along the stream courses—the end came to the "light" (some ¾ ton) howitzer, so far as its usefulness to the engineers was concerned.[9] As nearly as can be figured, the precise spot of its abandonment was south of Coleville, probably only a few miles north of Sonora Junction. Here, the snow fields still ahead, and the "inevitable detention" to which its presence would have subjected them, had led to the decision.

After they had traversed the canyon nearly to Coleville, an Indian from a nearby village guided the party and its equipage, *minus* the howitzer, to a pass over which they could cross the Sierra. The route followed in leaving the West Walker corresponds, on modern maps, to California state-highway No. 89 from Topaz westward to the Carson River at Markleville.[10] Arrangements made there for further guidance enabled them, after 18 days of exhausting effort on the part of themselves and their animals, to attain the pass—where Kit Carson carved his name on a tree, thus leaving irrefutable evidence of their whereabouts at that moment in history and constituting a marker which is now partly preserved in the state museum at Sutter's Fort, Sacramento.[11]

Conflicting stories have arisen as to the subsequent history of the Frémont howitzer: it was said to have been discovered in 1859 by 2 miners, in the place where Frémont's party had left it some 15 years before; another story says that during the Civil War it was impounded by the government as U. S. property; one hears of it as having been in private hands again; to be followed by Virginia City, Nevada, as its next claimed resting-place; in succession came Lake Tahoe, where it is said to have been given chances to speak for itself during patriotic and other celebrations; controversy, sometimes heated and persistent, occupied the next several years, leading, at last, to a final solution with respect to its whereabouts, namely, in Carson City.[12] One fact to emerge from the welter of pros and cons seems to be that the mountain howitzer in the Nevada State Museum, Carson City, is one of the 12 howitzers made for delivery to the U. S. war department by Cyrus Alger & Co.[13] The recorded explanation for its presence in the snow-ladened West Walker River region is to be found in Frémont's account of his own whereabouts in the winter of 1843-44.

By way of solid ground, among the mists of debated details respecting one particular gun's career, are the following statistics taken from *The Ordnance Manual for the Use of Officers of the Confederate States Army*[14]—statistics that relate to the mountain howitzer objectively, its

use and care: wheels, 38 inches in diameter; axletree, 38 inches long; charge detonated by a fuze inserted into the touch-hole at the moment of firing; shells, spherical cases (78 musket balls), and canisters (148 balls), used as projectiles; weight of shell with its explosive charge about 9 pounds; weight of other 2 projectiles about 11 pounds each; range, 150-1005 yards according to elevation.

On the western mountain trails, fur traders used 2 horses, hitched tandem, to pull guns weighing less than did the 12-pounder howitzer of the army. (Total weight of the latter, including carriage, ammunition, tools, and portable forge, about ¾-ton; the barrel weighed 220 pounds.) Over rough terrain, the gun and its carriage could be packed on the back of a horse for which purpose there was a special army pack-saddle. There is no evidence that Frémont used such a saddle in transporting his gun during the 1843-44 expedition; but there were times when the barrel was dismounted from its carriage to facilitate travel. The ammunition chest ordinarily was packed with 2 shells, 5 spherical cases, and 1 canister. Fuses, primers, priming tubes, port fire, and slow match made up the inside contents of the chest while the linstock was carried on the outside, the total load weighing 112 pounds. A second chest, packed on the opposite side of the saddle, served as balance.[15]

Cannon balls do not figure in any of the discovery and salvage stories relating to Frémont's howitzer. Were they dropped at the time that the gun itself was abandoned? Did one or another of them find a warm spot beside an Indian's or a miner's fire? Or have they now become wedged between the rocks as impromptu reinforcement to the wall of West Walker Canyon?

NOTES

1. Among comparatively recent studies of the howitzer's history are: "The Frémont Cannon," Sacramento *Bee*, Sept. 20, 1941, magazine section, p. 3; Irene D. Paden, *The Wake of the Prairie Schooner* (New York, 1943), p. 437; Irving Stone, *Immortal Wife* (Garden City, N. Y., 1944), p. 104; George Hinkle and Bliss Hinkle, *Sierra Nevada Lakes* (New York, 1949), pp. 1-383 *passim*. H. H. Bancroft had discussed the subject earlier (1886) in *Hist. of Calif.*, IV, 438, ft. note, citing Thomas C. Lancey, "Cruise of the Dale," San Jose *Pioneer*, 1879-81.

2. Arthur Woodward to Carl P. Russell, letter, 1948, "Notes on the 12-pounder brass mountain howitzer."

3. John Charles Frémont, *Report of the Exploring Expedition to the Rocky Mountains . . . and Northern California . . . 1843-1844* (Washington, D. C., 1845), p. 226.

4. Woodward, *op. cit. See also* note 13 below.

5. Frémont, *ibid.*

6. Thomas H. Benton, *Thirty Years' View . . . from 1820 to 1850* (New York, 1856), II, 578-80, describes how Mrs. Frémont, being requested to examine her husband's mail and forward the items which he should see, had "read the countermanding orders, and detained them!" In the opinion of H. H. Bancroft (note 1 above) she had acted "shrewdly." *See also* Frémont, *Memoirs of my Life* (Chicago and New York, 1887), pp. 167-68; and Stone, note 1 above, p. 89.

7. Frémont, note 3 above, pp. 107, 126, 204.

8. *Idem.*

9. *Ibid.*, p. 225.

10. *Ibid.*, p. 227.

11. Phil Townsend Hanna, *Dictionary of California Land Names* (Los Angeles, 1951), p. 57.

12. Paden, note 1 above, p. 437; Bancroft, *op. cit.*, p. 438.

13. Harold L. Peterson to Carl P. Russell, letter, May 28, 1954, giving results of search of "Statement of Contracts, Ordnance Department, Book 26," war records division, national archives, Washington, D. C.; delivery of 12-pounder mountain howitzers to U. S. government by Cyrus Alger & Co. as follows: 12 on June 11, 1836; 12 on May 16, 1837; 3 on Dec. 8, 1837; 4 on March 13, 1838; and 5 on April 28, 1838.

A. Mordecai, compiler, *The Ordnance Manual . . .* (Charlestown, S. Carolina, 1861), p. 19, specifies the contractors' marks placed on howitzers made for U. S. war department; the Nevada State Museum specimen is marked in accordance with these specifications.

14. Mordecai, note 13 above, pp. 131-48.

15. *Idem.*

Washoe's First Literary Journal

By Franklin R. Rogers

In *Roughing It* Mark Twain tells the story of the *Weekly Occidental*, the first literary paper to be published in Nevada Territory. It was, as Twain says, a sign establishing "beyond cavil that the 'flush times' are at the flood."[1] According to his version of the paper's history, the *Occidental* survived for 4 issues and succumbed when a "dissolute stranger with a literary turn of mind" so disarranged the serialized novel which the various staff members were writing that the 4th issue came out without the customary installment.[2] It is obvious, as we read this account, that Twain is not writing history. His primary concern is, instead, a burlesque of the then-popular "sensation" novels, novels such as those written by M. E. Braddon, Mrs. Henry Wood, Charles Reade, and Bulwer-Lytton.

Twenty-two years after Twain wrote his account, Dan De Quille, his one-time fellow reporter on the Virginia City *Territorial Enterprise*, told his version of the *Occidental* venture. Like Twain, De Quille is not so much concerned with history as he is with a burlesque of the once-popular stage spectacle *The Black Crook*. According to him but one issue reached the subscribers, although there were elaborate plans for a serialized novel.[3]

Exaggeration plays a dominant role in both these accounts of the *Occidental*, but, like most of the stories in *Roughing It*, this episode does have a basis in fact: the *Weekly Occidental* did exist. As with many other enterprises during those "flush times," its life was short; how brilliant, would be difficult to say, for apparently no copies have survived, or at least none has found its way into any library. Nevertheless from contemporary newspaper accounts and from reprints of *Occidental* articles in other Nevada and California newspapers in the Bancroft Library files, it is possible to reconstruct to a fair degree the history of this paper and to draw some conclusions about its contents.

The first notice concerning the *Occidental* appeared in the advertising columns of the Virginia City *Daily Union*, February 9, 1864:

Prospectus of the "Occidental"

A literary and miscellaneous journal, to be published in Virginia, N. T., every Sunday Morning.

There are now published in Nevada Territory a number of daily and weekly newspapers devoted to the political, commercial and mining interests, but as yet no journal has appeared among us of a purely literary character.

It is the intention of the proprietors of THE OCCIDENTAL to supply this want by issuing, once a week, a Literary and Miscellaneous Newspaper, containing Tales, Poems, Literary Reviews, Editorials, Humorous Sketches, Brevities and Localisms, from the pens of the best writers of Nevada and California, together with Stories, Sketches and Essays from the latest Foreign and Domestic periodicals.

The movements of the Fire Department, Military, and various benevolent organizations, will be chronicled in the columns of THE OCCIDENTAL.

The Ladies' and Home Department will receive the attention of a talented lady editress, while the editorial conduct will be under the charge of gentlemen of experience and talent.

It is designed to concentrate in the columns of THE OCCIDENTAL all the available literary talent in our midst; to make a journal which shall be equally welcome to the family circle, the mechanics, the business men and the miners of Nevada Territory.

A few columns will also be devoted to advertisements, which will be received at reasonable rates.

THE OCCIDENTAL will be published at the following rates

One year, in advance	$6.00
Six months	3.50
Three months	2.00
One month	.75

Delivered by carriers in Virginia, Gold Hill, Silver City and Dayton, or mailed to subscribers.

The citizens of Virginia and Gold Hill will be waited on during the next ten days by business agents of THE OCCIDENTAL, to solicit advertisements and subscriptions.

The first number of THE OCCIDENTAL will be issued on Sunday, March 6th, 1864.

THOMAS FITCH & CO.
Publishers and Proprietors.

Office—No. 4, Myers & Daggett's Building, west side B street, between Union and Sutton Avenue.[4]

Published by Thomas Fitch and Co., the paper was, for the most part, the effort of writers from the *Territorial Enterprise*. This appears from a paragraph printed in the Marysville *Daily Appeal:* "Weekly Occi-

dental—We received yesterday the first number of the *Weekly Occidental,* published at Virginia City, N. T., by Thomas Fitch & Co. The external and typographical face of the *Occidental* is excellent, and we have no doubt that its literary reputation will be soon established. The pens and the experience of such writers as Thomas Fitch, R. M. Daggett, Dan De Quille, J. T. Goodman, Mrs. Fitch and others, must make it a popular paper. We wish it success."[5] Of the staff members named in this notice all but Thomas Fitch and his wife are from the *Enterprise:* Joseph T. Goodman, editor and publisher; Rollin M. Daggett, assistant editor; and Dan De Quille, reporter.

But perhaps the most significant fact about this list is that the name Mark Twain does not appear. If Twain's name were publicly associated with the paper, it is hardly possible the editor of the *Daily Appeal* would have relegated him to the category "and others," for by this time Twain's reputation was fairly widespread in the Territory and in California. It is possible that the editor gleaned his list from signed articles in the first issue, to which Twain may not have contributed; the implication is that Twain was not a member of the staff, an implication strengthened by the fact that in none of the other newspapers does Twain's name appear in connection with the *Occidental,* not even in the *Golden Era,* the staff of which held Twain in high regard.

As might be expected, the reactions of the various editors to the first issue range from the non-committal through the effusive to the derogatory. The *Golden Era,* the leading literary journal west of the Missouri, greeted the first issue with a very brief notice: "The Weekly 'Occidental,' a new literary journal, published at Virginia City by Thomas Fitch & Co., came out on the 6th of March. Its columns are full of excellent entertainment."[6] There is in this announcement a certain lack of warmth, and one is led to wonder if the *Golden Era* viewed with disapproval the appearance in its own back-yard, so to speak, of this rival.

By contrast the editor of the Gold Hill, Nevada, *Evening News* became almost lyrical when he wrote, "The *Occidental,* a beautiful literary weekly, appeared yesterday in Virginia, under the management of Thomas Fitch & Co. The matter of the first issue is mostly original with it, and from minds capable of happily presenting the truths and beauties of literature. May the *Occidental* long live as a generous help to the moral glories of the Occident!"[7]

As if enthusiasm waned with distance—in Reese River, Nevada, 150

miles east of Gold Hill and Virginia City, the editor of the *Reveille* took an unfavorable view. Of the first issue, he wrote, "NEW PAPER—The Occidental, a weekly paper devoted to Literature, &c., has commenced its career in Virginia City. Thomas Fitch & Co. are its editors and publishers, with the Ladies' Department under the supervision of a talented editress [evidently Mrs. Fitch]. The new paper presents a very neat appearance, but as a 'literary' production, the first number does not justify its being taken as a model."[8]

In the absence of any surviving copies, any attempt to reconstruct the physical appearance of the paper must be largely a matter of conjecture, although, since it was printed by Tom Fitch, it probably had much the same appearance in size and typography as Fitch's Virginia City *Daily Union*. Its size can be established with some accuracy on the basis of a notice in the *Humbolt Register* which refers to it as a "well-printed sheet, large. . . ."[9] At this time, the *Humbolt Register* measured 12 x 18 inches; but the Virginia City *Daily Union*, the *Territorial Enterprise*, and indeed a majority of the other territorial and California newspapers favored a page 15 x 22 inches. Thus it appears probable that the *Occidental*, like the *Union*, also measured 15 x 22.

Offered to the public at a subscription price of $6 a year, this new literary journal presented to its readers "much interesting original and selected matter," to use the words of the *Humbolt Register*.[10] Of the original matter in the various issues of the *Occidental*, some shorter items have survived in the form of reprint-items in other contemporary newspapers:

1. "Climatic Influences of Washoe," by R. Eichler, M.D., reprinted in the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, a factual article dealing with the effects of altitude upon pulse and breathing.[11]

2. "The Early Miners on the Comstock Lead," unsigned, reprinted in the San Francisco *Daily Evening Bulletin*, also a factual article.[12]

3. "Lost in the Sierra," by Dan De Quille, reprinted in the *Golden Era*, an overly sentimental sketch describing a man's death in the Sierra snows while the young wife and the inevitable blond, blue-eyed babe wait and pray in the cabin in the valley.[13]

4. "A Promising Mine and a Model Superintendent," by Dan De Quille, reprinted in the *Golden Era*, a humorous sketch in letter form about a mining fraud.[14]

5. "Food for the Gallows," unsigned, reprinted in the *Humbolt Register*, a factual article denouncing juvenile delinquency in Virginia City.[15]

Undoubtedly like the *Golden Era* it also included larger pieces of fiction, possibly a serialized novel. The problems raised by a "sensation" novel form the center of interest in the *Roughing It* account, and De Quille devotes his major effort to a description of the projected novel, possibly taking his cue from Twain's account. But behind the horseplay there may be a kernel of truth pointing to the real problem that vexed the *Occidental* and its novel. Like other American journals, the *Occidental* could have, in the absence of copyright agreements, gleaned its novel from English magazines; but Twain's assertion that Mr. and Mrs. "F." wrote the first two installments may indicate that Thomas and Anna Fitch attempted to write an original novel for the *Occidental* and had to give it up. These two had literary ambitions, and in 1891 published the novel *Better Days*.

The life of the *Occidental* was short. In Twain's account it lasted for 4 issues, but De Quille in his article says only one number appeared. In the evidence afforded by the dates of the reprints, we find support for Twain's version. The *Golden Era*, for instance, took notice of the *Occidental* for the first time in its March 13 issue, one week after the publication of the first number; the last reprint in the *Golden Era* appeared in the April 3 issue. This would seem to indicate that the last issue received by the *Golden Era* was an issue for March 27. Thus there must have been issues for March 6, March 13, March 20, and March 27. Of course, 6 days later, April 9, the *Humbolt Register* reprinted an article from the *Occidental;* but because the *Register* did not report on the first issue until April 2, the April 9 reprint cannot be considered significant.

As we have already seen, Twain blamed the problems of the *Occidental* upon the serial novel, and he goes on to say that when the novel failed the magazine failed. De Quille probably comes a little closer to the truth when he says, ". . . It would be safe to say that all the 'powder' in the magazine was used up in the first shot."[16]

Two things probably contributed to the failure: lack of a sufficient audience and lack of time on the part of the staff members. Virginia City and the other population centers of Nevada Territory were peopled by citizens more interested in mining news than in literary endeavors. Furthermore, the *Occidental* was entering into competition with the *Golden Era*—a highly respected and influential journal already circulating widely in Nevada Territory—and with all the major American and British journals. Subscribers could, for example, obtain a subscription to Charles Dickens' *All the Year Round* for exactly the same

price, $6.[17] The combination of a luke-warm audience and an entrenched opposition would be enough in itself to insure the failure of the *Occidental.*

But beyond this is the fact that most of the staff members of the new magazine were full-time staff members of the *Enterprise*, a large paper representing a large investment in money and requiring large amounts of time and effort. Obviously these staff members must have regarded the *Occidental* strictly as a side-line. Moreover, De Quille, Daggett, and Twain—if he ever was on the staff—had to curtail their activities on the *Occidental* almost immediately after the first issue, for toward the middle of March, Goodman left Virginia City for a trip to Hawaii, and these 3 had to shoulder additional duties on the *Enterprise* during his absence. In none of these circumstances do we find the ingredients necessary for a successful new publishing venture.

The *Occidental* died then after 4 issues, but for the month of March 1864 Virginia City had a literary journal, the infallible sign of flush times. The journal disappeared quicker than the flush times, but they too finally went, never to return, and those 4 issues of the *Occidental*, once disappeared, have never found their way back to the light.

NOTES

1. *Roughing It* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1899), II, p. 96.
2. *Ibid.*, pp. 98-105.
3. "Reporting with Mark Twain," *California Illustrated Magazine* IV (1893), 173-74.
4. p. 2, col. 7.
5. March 11, 1864, p. 2.
6. March 13, 1864, p. 4.
7. March 7, 1864, p. 2.
8. March 10, 1864, p. 2.
9. April 2, 1864, p. 2.
10. *Ibid.*
11. March 18, 1864, p. 3.
12. March 24, 1864, p. 3.
13. March 27, 1864, p. 8.
14. April 3, 1864, p. 6.
15. April 9, 1864, p. 4.
16. De Quille, *op. cit.*, p. 173.
17. See the advertisement for Burke and Prescott, Newsdealers, 66 South C Street, Virginia City, Washoe *Herald*, July 2, 1864.

Book of Remembrance

On view in the Society's library is a finely bound "Book of Remembrance," recording the names of persons in whose memory contributions have been made to the Library Fund. Below are the names that have been inscribed since the commencement of the memorial:

Frank Howard Allen
Joseph Emmanuel Anderson
Marion Atkins
Thomas P. Bacon
A. R. Baldwin
Isabelle Ball
Arthur John Bancroft
Eleanor Ashby Bancroft
Oscar Thomas Barber
Harvey Wetmore Beard
Jessie Beard
Rae Griswold Behrens
Harry C. Bell
Edward Washington Bender
Mrs. Marcus P. Bennett
Katharine Esther Bennitt
Julia Stamper Berman
Mariana Bertola, M.D.
Edith Ward Berwyn
Clarence Leo Best
Francis Edward Bishop
Sally McKee Black
Lilian Hoogs Blaisdell
Edwin T. Blake
Hope Bliss
Herbert Eugene Bolton
Charles Philip Boone
Eleanor Smith Boone
Marie Wilson Bradley
Philip Read Bradley
Paul W. Brannon
Arthur H. Breed
LeRoy H. Briggs, M.D.
Dora Brock
Frances Des Marais Brogan
Ella M. Brooke
Mrs. Thomas Scott Brooke
Leonard W. Buck, M.D.
Eldridge Ayer Burbank
John R. Burns
Charlotte Wilson Cadwalader
George Toland Cameron
Rumsey Campbell
William W. Carruth
Katherine Thayer Cate
William Cavalier
Bessie Hobart Chapman
Isaac Flint Chapman
William Crist Charlton
Ralph Perry Chessall, D.D.S.
William A. Chick
Alma Sherman Chickering
Randolph Clement
Etta W. Coleman
Mary Murdock Compton
Frederick Herman Coon
Oscar Cooper
George Mackey Cornwall
Lilian A. Cross
Thomas Graham Crothers
Florence Osterero Cullen
Abraham Lincoln Danziger
Lilly E. Davis
Jerry W. DeCou
Monroe E. Deutsch
Angelo R. Duperu
Alice Eastwood
Maude Wyman Eberts
Ernest Frank Eckhardt
Glada V. Elden
Paul Eliel
Minnie Walker Engs
Alfred I. Esberg
Helen Richardson Espy
Edward Lilburn Eyre
Joseph Faunt Le Roy
Estelle Lyon Fay
Edward B. Field
George Filmer
Herbert Fleishhacker
Roy S. Folger
Rita Manning Foster
Thomas G. Franck
George August Fuhrig
Dorothy Bretag Gabrielson
Amy Corder Gaines
Dan Gallagher
Robert B. Gaylord

Alfred Ghirardelli
Morton R. Gibbons, M.D.
Frank Carroll Giffen
William M. Gilliland
Eliza Jane Gilman
Hugh Currin Githens
Mary Glide Goethe
Lutie D. Goldstein
Irene L. Goudey
Olive Martha Gould
Joseph T. Grace
Charles Francis Griffin, M.D.
Mabel Thompson Haas
Abraham P. Hankes
Phil Townsend Hanna
Warren Thomas Hannum
Lowell E. Hardy
Jessie Vaughan Harrier
Margaret N. Hart
Frederick Harvey
Thomas Norman Harvey
William Dunn Henley
Armand Leon Hering
John Raymond Herman
Flodden W. Heron
Emily Coey Hittell
Walter Scott Hobart
Elois F. Hodges
Mabel L. Holmes
Mary Pardow Hooper
John Howell
Grant James Hunt
J. J. Jackson
Joseph Henry Jackson
Erwina Smith Janin
Virginia Utz Jobe
Caroline Lendelof Johnson
Otis R. Johnson
George Keil
Frederick B. Kellam
Gareth Kellam
Alfred Brooks Kennedy
Arthur C. Kennedy
George E. Kennedy
Gerald Driscoll Kennedy
Elizabeth Thacher Kent
Emma T. Kessler
Ansel R. Kinne
Dudley Kinsell
Helen Kinsell
Emelyn West Knowland
Eva M. Koch
Elma Farnham Kroll
Shuey Kroll
Ethel A. Krook
William James Laing
Philip Van Horne Lansdale
William C. Latham
Abbie Hyde Lewis
Azro N. Lewis
James L'Hommedieu
William J. Lindenberger
Douglas Stuart Loud
George Davis Louderback
Edna Hopkins Lowrey
George Dunlap Lyman, M.D.
Helen Flint Lyman
M. Hall McAllister
Richard Henry McCarthy
Ruby McCormick
Zella Jane McCreary
James H. McDonough
Jean Howard McDuffie
Jean Parker McEwen
Helen Baker McGavin
Blanche Baldwin McGaw
Charles M. MacGregor
Eileen Leonard McInerny, M.D.
Richard McLaren
John A. McNear
Robert L. McWilliams
John Ward Mailliard, Jr.
Arthur S. Maloon
Edna Rodden Martin
Irving Martin
William O'Hara Martin
Winifred M. Menzies
Charles Washington Merrill
George Lovett Merwin
Helen Knox Merwin
Olga M. Meyer
Della Middleton
C. O. G. Miller
Ethel Rawles Miller
Tulita Wilcox Miner
Ruth Comfort Mitchell
Herbert C. Moffitt, M.D.
James Kennedy Moffitt
Margaret Jolliffe Moffitt
Joseph A. Moore
F. J. Morin
Helen Freer Morris
La Verne Scott Moss
Daniel J. Murphy

Richard H. Musson
Ruby Muther
Ralph W. Myers
Adolph Nelson
John J. Newbegin
Mrs. William H. Nolan
Frank H. Norcross
Thomas Wayne Norris
Frank M. Ogden
Albert Leslie Oliver
Edwin Letts Oliver
Emily Oliviera
Mrs. E. O. C. Ord
Martha Lamberton Osmer
Cornelius D. O'Sullivan
William G. Paden
Paul Paine
Whitney Palache
John Parker
Robert J. Parker
Edwin Parrish
Julia Reynolds Parrish
Haig Patigian
Henry Hawley Patterson
May Hawley Patterson
Ann May Perry
Barbara Peters
Mrs. G. Baltzer Peterson
John Petrusich
Ralph Larose Phelps
Thomas L. Phillips
Minna Dohrmann Pischel
Paul P. Pitchlynn
Eloise LaVanche Moore Pius
Elizabeth Keith Pond
George A. Pope
Mrs. George A. Pope
Margaret James Porter
Mary Easton Porter
Katharine Hutchinson Post
J. Sheldon Potter
Mabel Gray Potter
Frank J. Reagan
Ida M. Reed
Ruth Sheffield Reid
Mrs. Mark Requa
Ralph A. Reynolds, M.D.
Ruth Loring Richardson
Thomas M. Robinson, Jr.
Kernan Robson
Lester Roth
Laura Carmany Rulofson
Warren Russell
Julia D. Sammer
Walter Hans Schubert
Irving Murray Scott, Jr.
Charles McDowell Sharpsteen
William C. Sharpsteen
Edward J. Sheppard
William Henry Shine
Sevilla Hayden Shuey
Frederick Ortman Shumate, M.D.
Gertrude Miller Simmons
Louis F. Sinsheimer
Paul A. Sinsheimer
John Joaquin Smith
Henrietta L. Stadtmuller
Rosalie Meyer Stern
W. Foster Stewart
William Ely Stewart
Herbert F. Suhr
William E. Swallow, Jr.
J. D. Sweeney
Mrs. Leslie Symmes
Lewis Madison Terman
Willard Brown Thorp
L. Deming Tilton
Reuben Lukens Underhill
Eugenia Kendrick Vaughan
Henry Raup Wagner
Matt Wahrhaftig
Uda Waldrop
Reginald Foshay Walker
Anna Taulbee Warren
Harry C. Warren, M.D.
Willard O. Wayman
Albert S. Weaver
Dixon Wecter
Adaline M. Wellendorff
Lynn Townsend White
Charlotte Anita Whitney
Betty Loren Whitsell
Gerald Wessen Wickland
Katherine Ray Wickson
Otis Buckminster Wight, M.D.
Ray Lyman Wilbur, M.D.
Gordon F. Williamson
Josepha Peralta Wilson
Leo Klays Wilson
Theodore P. Wittschen
Theodore Wores
Louise E. Wormley
Willis A. Zane
Gonzalo Zapata
Maria Ch. Zapata

In Memoriam

MABEL THOMPSON HAAS

The sudden death of Mabel Thompson Haas (b. Woodbridge, San Joaquin County, May 10, 1873) saddened the wide circle of her friends.

She had been a member of the California Historical Society for many years. Through the Thompson family, Mrs. Haas traced her ancestry in America to early colonial days. John Chatten Thompson, her grandfather, was born in Tazwell County, Virginia, in 1803. Prior to the war of 1812, the family had sympathized with England; in 1812 their attitude changed to allegiance to the United States. The senior Thompson married Mary Adams Williams, and four children were born to them: Reese Bowen Thompson, Eliza Thompson Yerby, Sarah L. Thompson Wheeler, and John Chatten Thompson, Jr.

With the discovery of gold, John Thompson, Jr., Mabel Haas's father, determined to try his fortune in California. He was successful and returned home by the *Yankee Blade*. Whereupon John Thompson, Sr., decided to move his family further toward the west from Missouri, where they had been stopping on the way out from Virginia. He disposed of his real estate holdings in Missouri in 1852, and he and his family crossed the plains, but in the Big Meadows of Humboldt Basin, Nevada, his wife died.

The family settled in the San Joaquin Valley at New Hope (Woodbridge). Title to 500 acres was acquired, and grain, cattle and horses were raised. Thompson, Sr. was a man of tireless energy. In 1861 he was elected to the state legislature on the Democratic ticket, but his loyalty was to the Union, and as a member of important committees he was able to contribute to the welfare of the state and the nation. He left his imprint especially upon the early history of the San Joaquin Valley, where he resided for many years.

The junior Thompson married Miss Carolyn Rutledge on May 7, 1863. She was the daughter of John and Nancy Fulton Rutledge, who had migrated from Virginia to California in 1852 and had settled in the San Joaquin Valley. Their five children were born between 1864 and 1874: Edward Rees, Mary Alice, Hervey, John Henry, and Carolyn Mabel. When Carolyn Mabel was 15, the family moved to Stockton, where she enrolled in the Stockton High School. After graduating with honors, she attended Mills College with the class of 1893 and majored in music and languages. On October 17, 1906, Mabel Thompson married Edward Francis Haas in the Thompson family home in Stockton.

Thereafter, Mr. and Mrs. Haas had made San Francisco their home, residing first at 2446 Vallejo Street, and in 1915 moving to 2698 Vallejo Street.

For many years Mrs. Haas served as a member of the board of trustees of Mills College and contributed substantially to Mills' endowment through the Alice Haas Conner Scholarship Fund. She was a member of the Century Club and the San Francisco Golf Club.

Mrs. Haas is survived by a son, Edward Thompson Haas, and three grandchildren, Syida Geraldine Haas, Edward Thompson Haas, Jr., and Edward Jewett Conner. A daughter, Alice Charlotte Rutledge Haas Conner, died in 1947.

Funeral services for Mrs. Haas were conducted from her residence, where, on April 13, 1939, they had been held for Mr. Haas. The Rev. John Hayes Creighton of Old First Presbyterian Church officiated.

Kindly, intelligent, tolerant, gentle, well-read, and understanding, Mrs. Haas was a lady in the finest sense of the term. Her friends will miss her exceedingly, and in her death the California Historical Society has lost a staunch supporter.

EDGAR M. KAHN

ARMAND THEODORE MERCIER

At his home in Palo Alto on November 21, 1957, occurred the death of Armand Theodore Mercier in his 76th year. Mr. Mercier was born in New Orleans, Louisiana, December 11, 1881. He attended Tulane University, New Orleans, where he majored in civil engineering and from which he was graduated in 1903. Forty-odd years afterwards (1945), the same institution awarded him the honorary degree of doctor of laws.

Mr. Mercier entered the employ of the Southern Pacific Co. as a rodman of a surveying crew at Los Angeles in 1904. Within two years he had been appointed assistant engineer, and was helping the U. S. government project to curb the flood waters of the Colorado River, which were threatening the Imperial Valley in California. In 1907 he was made a general foreman and engineer of purchase and buildings for the Southern Pacific, later that year being promoted to the position of engineer and general foreman of the company's terminal construction in San Pedro and Los Angeles. By 1913 he had become division engineer at

Los Angeles; by 1917, assistant superintendent of the Shasta Division; and by 1918, superintendent of the Portland-Oregon Division. Three years later Mr. Mercier was made general manager of the San Diego & Arizona Railway, a Southern Pacific subsidiary, and in 1927 he became its president and general manager. Next, in 1929, he was made vice-president and general manager of the Pacific Electric Railway at Los Angeles. He became general manager of the Southern Pacific in 1933, and executive vice-president in 1938. On the death of President Angus D. McDonald in 1941, Mr. Mercier was elected to that high office, continuing as such until he retired in 1951 and was succeeded by Donald J. Russell, the present president.

Mr. Mercier, who resided at 509 Coleridge Avenue, Palo Alto, was very much interested in his garden, particularly in the growing of camellias. During his business life he was a member of the Pacific-Union Club, the Family Club and the Menlo Country Club. His college affiliation was with the Kappa Alpha fraternity.

In his career with the Southern Pacific, Mr. Mercier personally became acquainted with a large number of the employees of the railroad. This was evidenced by an example which came to the writer's attention in 1941. As a director and member of the executive committee of the company during all of Mr. Mercier's encumbency as president, he was riding with Mr. Mercier on the rear platform of his official car while crossing the Colorado Desert west of Indio. A few hours' ride over a Mexican railroad had disclosed the dilatory way in which the brakemen on that line had attended to their duties. As is customary upon stoppage of a train, one of the brakemen goes back a reasonable distance to flag any other train approaching on the same track. When the train is ready to move, he runs up and climbs aboard the rear platform. The Mexican brakemen had been so slow in carrying out this routine that when the train stopped at the point west of Indio, the contrast in the functioning of the American brakeman was all too obvious. When the train was ready to start, he ran up and climbed quickly over the rail of the official car where he was greeted by Mr. Mercier as "Jimmy." Mr. Mercier then introduced him to the writer as Jimmy Freeman, explaining in an aside the latter's desire not to hold the train longer than necessary, in spite of his (Freeman's) fairly advanced age. Mr. Mercier seemed to know Freeman well and to be thoroughly familiar with his experience with the railroad. Similar evidence of his acquaintance with the men of the Southern Pacific was given when Mr. McDonald died, and the selec-

tion of his successor was before the board of directors, of which the writer was a member. Conductors and brakemen consistently approached him to recommend Mr. Mercier, and one man in the freight department came from Los Angeles to San Francisco with that sole object in view. The funeral on November 25th at the Christ Episcopal Church in Los Altos was attended by an outpouring of Southern Pacific employees.

Mr. Mercier, cheerful, bright and attractive in personality, added to these characteristics a thorough efficiency in the performance of his duties to the railroad, whatever might be the position he was occupying at any particular time. Surviving him are his wife, two daughters, a sister, and two grandchildren—twin boys, in whom he was devotedly interested.

ALLEN L. CHICKERING

GIFTS RECEIVED BY THE SOCIETY

September 16 to December 31, 1957

Materials of great interest have been contributed by many friends in many places:

BANNING
G. H. Shaw

BERKELEY
Ralph H. Cross, Sr.
Aubrey Drury
Gilbert H. Kneiss
Hobart M. Lovett
Fleet Adm. Chester W. Nimitz

COLUMBIA, Mo.
Joseph D. Elliff

CORONADO
Lloyd M. Harmon
Harold J. Peterson

CORTE MADERA
Mr. and Mrs. Myron Elges

CRESCENT CITY
Mrs. Ruth Kellett Roberts

EAST ORANGE, N. J.
Mrs. Alexander M. Jackson

KENTFIELD
F. Bourn Hayne

LONDON, ENGLAND
Kenneth M. King

LOS ANGELES
Miss Essie L. Elliott
Andrew F. Rolle
Justin G. Turner

MARYSVILLE
Charles Eby

MENLO PARK
Carl I. Wheat

MIAMI, FLA.
David James
Harry Simonhoff

MORRISTOWN, N. J.
Thomas W. Streeter

NEW YORK CITY, N. Y.
Frederick W. Beinecke

OAKLAND
Harold C. Holmes
Mrs. Marguerite Eastwood Welch
Miss Elizabeth S. Whitton

PALO ALTO
George L. Harding
Linn Winterbotham

RIVERSIDE
Mrs. Frank A. Miller

ROCHESTER, N. Y.
Minor White

Ross
Mr. and Mrs. Laurence Easton

SACRAMENTO
Hon. Sherrill Halbert

SALINAS
Miss Florence Baker

SAN BERNARDINO
L. Burr Belden
Surr & Hellyer, Attorneys

SAN DIEGO
Laurence M. Klauber
Philip S. Rush

SAN FRANCISCO
Harry W. Abrahams
Mrs. E. P. Ackerman
L. Harold Anderson
Argonaut Book Shop
P. A. Bergerot
Mrs. Angus G. Boggs
Mrs. Bertha Ralston Bright
George H. Cabaniss, Jr.
Henry C. Carlisle
Allen L. Chickering
Mrs. Belle H. Cooley
Mrs. John E. Cushing
B. W. Hellings
Warren R. Howell
Walter L. Huber
Charles Sexton James
Mrs. James Jenkins
P. F. Kane
Lawton R. Kennedy
Miss Joyce E. Lobner
Dr. Lester Luz
Stuart Loring McClure
David F. Myrick
Augustus Pollack
Mrs. W. Leonard Renick
Col. Fred B. Rogers
Miss Raymonde Rooney
Albert Shumate, M.D.
T. A. Strobridge
Mrs. William Ferree Timlow
Wells Fargo Bank
Wells Fargo Bank, History Room

SOUTH LAGUNA
Miss Nelda King

SPOKANE, WASH.
Joel E. Ferris

VENTURA
J. H. Morrison

VISALIA
Miss Annie R. Mitchell

Marginalia

Notes on Authors in This Issue:

Because of her 35 years as teacher of English in the Chico High School and as occasional contributor of articles to such newspapers as the *Christian Science Monitor* and the Chico *Enterprise-Record*, one can have confidence in the interest and scope of Anne H. Currie's writing. An illustrated article by her on local affairs described the methods used by reclamation engineers when the annual spring run of Sacramento River salmon was threatened by Shasta Dam. Appearing first in the *Monitor*, the account was subsequently incorporated in a U. S. state-department publication for distribution abroad. Miss Currie was born in Iowa and was graduated from Grinnell College. She is now a resident of Berkeley and is actively engaged in the work of the Northern California Pen Women and in graduate work at the university.

Thornton Emmons (first American white child to be born at Sitka, Alaska) is the grandson of Rear-Admiral George F. Emmons, known particularly for his leadership, when a lieutenant, of that part of Charles Wilkes' Exploring Expedition which came overland from the Columbia River to San Francisco Bay in 1841. The rear-admiral's son and father of Thornton was the late Lt. George T. Emmons, USN, for many years in charge of Alaska Indians for the U. S. government and a recognized authority on the ethnology of the northwest. Princeton graduate and former naval officer, Thornton Emmons is himself a recognized authority on the northwest, namely, on its commercial fish resources. His present business affiliation is with the American Zinc, Lead and Smelting Co., of which he is a vice-president and director.

Mrs. Julia H. Macleod, a native of Mt. Desert Island, Maine, and a graduate (1920) of the University of California, was MSS cataloguer at the Huntington Library 1931-1938, 1940-47, and has been serving in a similar capacity at the Bancroft Library since 1949. In 1945, Mrs. Macleod was co-author with Louis B. Wright in a Princeton University publication entitled *The First Americans in North Africa.*

As may be surmised from note 9 of his article, painstaking study of family papers was needed before Robert Morris could attempt even the present brief sketch of Alfred Robinson's mother. Mr. Morris, a native of Pennsylvania, and son of the late Maynard Cameron Morris, pioneer radio engineer of the Radio Corp. of America, was a member of the first class to graduate from Sacramento State College. He is a veteran of World War II; takes a prominent part in the activities of the Boy Scouts and of numerous other organizations, in addition to his literary interests; and in his professional work, is administrative assistant with the Douglas Aircraft Co., Inc., Sacramento Missile Field Station.

Elmo A. Robinson, who is head of the department of philosophy at San Jose

State College, was born in Portland, Maine. He took his B.S. degree at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology in 1909, and 3 years later was awarded a B.D. degree from St. Lawrence University's theological school, which trains ministers for the Universalist Church. Professor Robinson came to San Jose State College in 1928 as assistant professor of philosophy, after spending the years 1921-1926 preaching in Palo Alto. In 1931, Stanford University granted him his M.A. degree.

After coming to California in 1947 from New York state, FRANKLIN R. ROGERS attended Fresno State College (B.A., 1950; M.A., 1952), moving thence to Merced where he taught English at the Union High School for 2 years. He is now completing requirements for the Ph.D. degree at the University of California, Berkeley, where his thesis, "Literary Burlesque as a Structural Pattern in Mark Twain's Writing to 1885," is being prepared under the guidance of Prof. Henry Nash Smith, literary executor of the Mark Twain estate.

Recently retired (July 1, 1957) from the National Park Service after 34 years, CARL P. RUSSELL has an enviable background of academic training (Ph.D., Zoology), and of administrative experience, which has included his work as regional director of NPS for the eastern U. S. and as superintendent of the Yosemite National Park. These positions gave him an opportunity to study the natural history of the areas assigned to him, and also the historic objects they contain, such knowledge being considered part of the museum work of the park service.

Research collaborator with Thornton Emmons and, like him, Alaska-born, HOMER C. VOTAW had considerable sailing experience in his younger days when he made a voyage from Seattle to Baltimore on the *Tusitala*, last of the American square-riggers to be used commercially. He attended Whitman College and the University of California, majoring in history; some 3 years were spent in the South Pacific during the last war, and since his return he has been busy writing, and also, with Mr. Emmons, editing the lengthy 1847-1849 journal of Rear-Admiral Emmons, highly important source-material for the period covered.

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p. 67, l. 16 from top, *for* Ilmsted *read* Olmsted.
p. 99, l. 14, *for* Frank *read* Frederick.
p. 132, l. 6, *for* namley *read* namely
p. 193, l. 1, *for* Cuyamacs *read* Cuyamacas

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